

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 218 015

RC 013 380

TITLE Bilingual Resources. [American Indian Education Special Double Issue].

INSTITUTION California State Univ., Los Angeles. Evaluation, Dissemination and Assessment Center.

SPONS AGENCY Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (ED), Washington, DC.

PUB DATE 81

NOTE 70p.; For related documents, see RC 013 381-384. Double issue. Best copy available. Photographs and front cover may not reproduce well.

AVAILABLE FROM Evaluation, Dissemination, and Assessment Center, Los Angeles, 5151 State Univ. Dr., Los Angeles, CA 90032 (\$5.00).

JOURNAL CIT Bilingual Resources; v4 n2-3 Win-Spr 1981

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.

DESCRIPTORS *American Indian Education; *American Indian Literature; Annotated Bibliographies; Artificial Languages; Bilingual Education; Competence; Curriculum Development; Educational Legislation; *Language Role; Narration; Native Language Instruction; Poetry; Tribes

IDENTIFIERS Navajo (Nation); White Mountain Apache (Tribe)

ABSTRACT

The double issue of the journal, "Bilingual Resources," presents nine articles pertaining to American Indian education in various perspectives, poetry by four American Indian poets, and identifies 27 publications about American Indians. Subjects of articles include: evaluation and recognition of narrative competence within peer group interactions of Navajo 10- and 11-year olds; the need for Native American language to ensure liberation of Native people; description of materials production for an experimental summer course teaching sixth graders (White Mountain Apache) literacy in their own language; discussion and suggestions on how to handle teaching problems with Indian students; the importance of language in the mobilization of American Indians for goals of political self-determination and cultural autonomy; the imitation of European models in the Native programs of bilingual education; and a look at positive aspects of future Native education emphasizing the importance of "process" and "content." The section, "Tips for Teachers," addresses curriculum development for an American Indian classroom and American Indian education legislation. Citations for publications (books, charts/prints, periodicals, audiovisuals) include a brief description, availability source, language used in publication, type of book and length, intended level, and cost. (ERB)

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Bilingual Resources

Vol. 4 No. 2-3 win-spr 1981



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Vol. 4 No. 2-3

TABLE OF CONTENTS

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The development of this publication was supported in whole or in part by the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs, United States Education Department. However, the opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs nor those of the United States Education Department. No official endorsement by these agencies should be inferred. The opinions expressed in **BILINGUAL RESOURCES** are those of individuals and do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the EDAC-LA, the California State University, Los Angeles Foundation, nor that of the School of Education, California State University, Los Angeles.



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BILINGUAL RESOURCES is published three times a year during the academic year by the Evaluation, Dissemination and Assessment Center, Los Angeles. Price per copy: \$2.50. Price per annual subscription: \$7.00.

FEATURE ARTICLES

- 2** **Narrative Competence: A Navajo Example of Peer Group Evaluation**
Margaret K. Brady
- 14** **The Survival of Native American Languages**
Jack D. Forbes
- 28** **Materials Preparation for Use in Bilingual Programs**
Marie-Louise Liebe-Harkort
- 32** **Cultural Aspects that Affect the Indian Student in Public Schools**
Alice Paul
- 34** **Language as Ideology: The American Indian Case**
Frances Svensson
- 41** **Native Bilingual Education: Oral Tradition and the Teacher**
Terry Tafoya
- 45** **The Directions of Indian and Native Education: Culture, Content, and Container**
Terry Tafoya

POETRY

- 48** **Vanishing Point: Urban Indian**
Wendy Rose
- 49** **The Track of the Sun**
Atoni
- 49** **Bridge Perspective**
Irene Nakai
- 49** **Sandpainting**
Irene Nakai

TIPS FOR TEACHERS

- 50** **Curriculum Development for an American Indian Classroom**
Elaine Roanhorse Benally
- 52** **American Indian Education Legislation**
Aileen Kelly Alexander

INSTRUCTIONAL AND RESOURCE MATERIALS:

54 ANNOTATIONS

BILINGUAL RESOURCES is a guide to bilingual, multicultural instructional materials, tests, and instructional techniques. Annotations and reviews describe materials available in the United States, its possessions, or territories. Feature articles describe procedures for the appropriate use of materials, tests, and instructional techniques as well as development efforts.

Narrative Competence: A Navajo Example of Peer Group Evaluation

by Margaret K. Brady

While there has been increasing interest in children's development of narrative competence on the part of linguists and students of child development alike, most of these studies have focused on cognitive operations and their relationship to the social or linguistic skills necessary to story telling. In other words, the focus of the study of children's development of competence in narrative has been restricted for the most part to an analysis of the kinds of cognitive abilities that children must have before they can tell a story successfully (Vygotsky, 1962; Kernan, 1977; Ervin-Tripp and Cook-Gumperz, 1974). While the understanding of the relationship between narrative competence and cognitive development is a most significant one, there is also the need for understanding narrative competence in children's own terms. Within their own peer groups children do indeed recognize both competent and incompetent narrative performances, and it is through the interactions of children within those peer groups that real narrative competence is attained. The purpose of this paper, then, will be to look more closely at the ways in which narrative competence is recognized within the peer group. Throughout this analysis it is implicitly recognized that children's narrative strategies are necessarily

constrained by their capacities to deal with the formal devices of their language — grammar, phonology, and sociolinguistic norms, for example (Ervin-Tripp and Cook-Gumperz, 1974). The focus of this paper, however, will be on the evaluation and recognition of competence within particular peer group interactions, rather than on adult-constructed models of cognitive and linguistic competence.

The Navajo Data

Although groups of children everywhere assess and evaluate the competence of their peers in telling stories, the particular children discussed in this analysis are ten- and eleven-year-old Navajo children living near Window Rock, Arizona. The narratives were collected in the classroom of a Catholic school on the eastern part of the Navajo reservation. Because of a number of factors — their proximity to Gallup, New Mexico, the involvement of many of their parents in the Navajo tribal bureaucracy, their education by Catholic nuns intent on their anglicization, to name a few — these Navajo children draw more frequently on Anglo cultural resources than most other individuals on the reservation. Yet, the stories on which this analysis is based deal with one of the most traditional figures of Navajo belief — skinwalker.

Skinwalker is one of the most popular subjects for narratives among Navajo children. Skinwalker's nearest Anglo equivalents are werewolves.

Yenaldlooshi (one who runs around on all fours with it) or skinwalkers, as they are called in English, are human witches

who wear coyote skins and travel about at night. Traditionally, they are blamed for theft, illness, and even death. Aside from a few scattered references and one somewhat atypical psychoanalytic study, there has been only one significant analysis of skinwalkers in the literature. Kluckhohn (1967) gives a brief account of these were-animals where he describes the adventures of skinwalkers as they meet in caves at night to plan concerted action against victims, to initiate new members, to have intercourse with dead women, and to practice cannibalism:

The Witches sit in a circle, surrounded by piles or baskets of corpse flesh. Some informants said that rows of identifiable human heads were likewise stored in the cave. The Witches are naked save for masks and many beads and other articles of jewelry. Their bodies are painted in a fashion reminiscent of that carried out in ceremonials . . . English-speaking informants will describe the proceedings as "kind of like a sing" or "just like a bad sing." Most informants agreed that songs were sung and dry paintings (often described as of "colored ashes") made . . . assembled witches spit, urinate and defecate upon the sand pictures. (p. 27)

According to traditional Navajo belief, skinwalkers climb on top of a hogan when a family is asleep and drop pollen, specially made from the ground bones of human infants, down the smokehole. Contact with this substance brings the sleeping person ill health, social problems, and sometimes death. Kluckhohn (1967) indicates that these *yenaldlooshi* are tracked, normally the morning after the incident, when dirt falling in from the smokehole, loud

Versions of this paper appeared in *Working Papers in Sociolinguistics*, eds. Richard Bauman and Joel Sherzer, No. 47. (Austin, Texas: Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, July, 1978). Reproduced by permission of the American Folklore Society from the *Journal of American Folklore*, XCIII, No. 368 (April-June, 1980), 158-181.

barkings of the dogs, or strange noises have made the hogan dwellers sense that a skinwalker has been there. It is primarily such experiences of personal contact with a skinwalker, the prototypical anti-Navajo that form the corpus of 100 narratives on which this paper is based.

The stories were collected from the children as they gathered in self-selected groups within the classroom. Groups ranged from three to six children, and all the sessions were tape-recorded on a small cassette machine hung over the arm of a chair. Though the tape recorder was a novelty at first, the children soon became used to it and in most cases disregarded its presence entirely. While I, as teacher, was in the classroom at all times, I rarely took part in the narrative sessions, except to observe proxemic and kinesic behavior from a distance. The open classroom situation proved most suitable for this kind of non-directive collecting; except for the first few days of taping, the children believed themselves to be alone within their peer groups, since they received no outside interference from me. In this way a particular area of the classroom became identified as a place where the children could feel free to exchange jokes, stories, and gossip with their friends.

All the narratives collected were told in English, the first language of most of the children. While their parents and grandparents often tell skinwalker stories in Navajo, these children, both inside and outside the classroom, consistently relate skinwalker narratives in English. When asked which language is "right" for telling skinwalker stories, 98 percent of the children responded that both languages were right; some children went on to elaborate that Navajo was right for some people (grandparents were given as an example) and English was right for others (like themselves). As this study indicates, narrative traditions can and often do persist in the language of acculturation.

Skinwalker stories first emerged in a narrative session where the children were telling "scary stories." At first these stories consisted of traditional ghost stories, such as "The Ghost of White Eyes" and "The Hook." When the repertoires of such stories began to be exhausted, one child suggested that he knew a scary story but that it was "family secrets." He went on to say that

the story he knew was about witches and that he could only tell such stories to relatives. Another child, however, quickly picked up the conversation, took the floor, and proceeded to tell a story about his own experiences with skinwalkers.

Navajo Children's Peer Groups

The importance of telling stories only to relatives points up a major difference in the peer groups of Navajo children. As in Anglo society, Navajo peer groups are significant as socializing agents for children, since it is in peer groups that they learn interactive skills and strategies for dealing with people outside their immediate family circle. However, there is a major difference between Anglo and Navajo children's peer groups. Young Navajo children operate within a peer group which is family. Traditionally, Navajo children spent much of their time only with siblings and cousins who lived close enough to play with. The distance between families structured the peers groups in this manner. This is still the case in many of the more remote areas of the Navajo reservation. However, it is also true in the more acculturated areas as well. Just as the social networks of adult Navajos operate in terms of social distance, which is genealogically and geographically determined, so also the networks of Navajo children are similarly characterized. Within this particular school, peer groups were formed by the association of brothers, sisters, cousins, and clan relatives. While most of these peer groups were sex-specific, upon rare occasions girls' peer groups and boys' peer groups were mixed.

In this particular case, then, peer groups were extended to any genealogical or clan relative. In essence, almost every child could belong to every peer group by extension of this ego-centered kin principle; however, it also functioned as a convenient way of excluding children who weren't considered desirable members of the group. If asked to describe a member of his peer group, a Navajo boy will not say, "He's my friend," but rather, "He's my cousin." Here "cousin" means anything from first-cousin to clan-relation, but the name itself includes the individual "in" as family and therefore as trustworthy, cooperative, and non-threatening.

¹"In" here means "as a member of."

It is significant in this respect that although these Navajo children were willing to tell jokes, riddles, and ghost stories in groups of children they did not consider kin (sometimes including Anglo children in the class), they were unwilling to tell skinwalker stories in the same groups. When I realized this, I allowed the children to select their own groups for these narrative sessions. Never was an Anglo child selected; those children who were involved in sessions where skinwalker stories were told always referred to each other as "cousins." This notion of adherence to the peer-group-as-kin prescription was elaborated by Buddy Yazzie² when I questioned him about the sharing of skinwalker stores:

B: One time, the only time me and Melvin and Billy Yazzie um we tell our stories like like what Billy his mom told him never to tell anybody.

I: Did he tell you?

B: Yeah, he told us and I told Melvin and Billy what my mom said never to tell anybody else.

I: Why did you do that?

B: Cause it's sacred ways.

I: I know, but why did he tell if it's sacred ways?

Melvin: The clan, the clan!

I: Oh, they're in the same clan.

Buddy, Billy, Melvin: Yeah!

Here the notion of never telling anybody refers to outsiders, non-relatives, and strangers.

While Anglo and Navajo peer groups have many functions in common and while they provide a convenient place for children to experiment with social conventions and norms to learn different social roles, their very conceptions differ considerably. These differences are culture-specific, as we have previously suggested, and they highlight the necessity for examining peer groups within a specific cultural framework. For Navajo children, a peer group is not merely a collection of friends but of family members. In actuality, many of the same factors determine the selection of peers for Navajo children as for Anglos, but the overriding concern is with family relationship. For the Navajo, the kin

²The names of all the children in this story have been changed to ensure their anonymity.

group is both ego-centered and flexible, and thus allows for a great deal of negotiation in the formation of peer groups. As children and their families become more acculturated, live in more densely populated areas, and interact with a greater number of individuals, this notion of the formation of peer groups may become more and more flexible. In the case of these particular children, the prescription of family relationship has not been abandoned but rather broadened to include a wider range of social possibilities. It is within these culturally distinctive peer groups that the acquisition of narrative competence, at least competence in the telling of skinwalker stories, occurs.

The Acquisition and Evaluation of Narrative Competence

As Navajo children huddle together, either in the mysterious darkness of a camp-out in the woods or in a well-lit classroom, to tell stories of terrifying experiences with skinwalkers, each child is assuming a responsibility to the audience and the other members of a culturally distinct peer group for a display of a particular kind of communicative competence — narrative competence. As situated communication, the competent performance of these stories entails both the knowledge and the ability to speak appropriately in a culturally defined and socially constituted world (Hymes, 1971; 1975; Bauman, 1975; 1977). Thus, competence involves not only knowledge of the social and cultural realms, but also a willingness to assume an accountability to an audience for the particular way in which a story is told, for the skillfulness involved in the expressive realm as well.

When Navajo children tell skinwalker stories to their peers, they take responsibility for a wide range of social and cultural knowledge, knowledge about the nature of social relationships, about the symbolic function of skinwalker within the social world, about the appropriate selection of "listeners," and about the culturally defined functions of such stories. At the same time, they are assuming responsibility for the use of that knowledge within performance, within the expressive world, and for the necessary skills involved in such a performance. Such a display of

competence within the peer group is a way not only of presenting knowledge of Navajo cultural symbols and meanings and of Navajo social structure and the structure of the peer group but it is also a way of presenting oneself. Through the performance of skinwalker narratives, children can present themselves as heroes, as slayers of evil, and thus as "Navajo" in the truest sense of the term; they can also choose to challenge traditional structures and beliefs by playing with the whole nature of skinwalker as symbol. The important point here is that through narrative performance, children can create and maintain a "social face" as they display knowledge of cultural forms at the same time. All the while, however, they are putting themselves in the position of being subject to evaluation for the skill and effectiveness they have demonstrated in this performance. The audience evaluation is based on both the performer's cultural knowledge and on the artful expression of that knowledge.

If either the cultural knowledge or the ability to express that knowledge in socially and culturally appropriate ways is lacking, the performance will not be a competent one. In most cases, competence in the realm of cultural knowledge comes first and then gradually expressive competence is acquired. For example, a child of six might know a great deal about the figure of skinwalker and yet still be unable to assume responsibility for expressing that knowledge within the narrative mode. A distinction could be made here between active and passive competence. Passive competence would imply the knowledge of skinwalker activities without the desire or ability to perform a story about skinwalker within the narrative frame. Active competence would refer to the coming together of both cultural knowledge and the ability to express that knowledge in socially and culturally appropriate ways. When competence is discussed here, it generally refers to this active type of competence. There is, however, also a great deal of experimenting with cultural knowledge within the performance frame. A child who knows a little about skinwalker may try out this knowledge as he or she spins out a narrative within the peer group. Often the lure of being in the spotlight, assuming the role of narrator, and

taking the floor for an extended period of time is so great that a child with a minimal knowledge of the ways skinwalkers operate will voluntarily attempt to tell a skinwalker story for the first time. Such is the case with Charlene Lopez.

Charlene is half-Navajo; her father is a Chicano who has held various positions with Arizona law enforcement agencies. Charlene's Navajo mother died when she was quite small; she is the youngest of four children and has spent most of her life off the reservation. However, for the last two years she has lived in Window Rock and has been "taken into" the family of one of her classmates, Margaret Begay. Charlene does not live with the Begays, but she spends a great deal of time at their house and is considered a "cousin"; both Charlene and Margaret say that they are related "through the clan." In this way, then, Charlene has been included in Margaret's group of peers. In fact, Charlene is Margaret's constant companion and is included in all the narrative sessions in which Margaret takes part.

When the narrative sessions began to involve skinwalker stories, Charlene, who is usually quite gregarious, sat back and listened intently for several days without attempting to tell this particular kind of story. Then one day when the children were involved in telling "scary" stories that did not involve skinwalkers (some personal experience stories of frightening happenings and some fictional narratives, both traditional and idiosyncratic), Charlene told this story:

One day there was this little boy — he was playing outside. And um he um his mother was trying to call him in cause it was time, nighttime and there was there was . . . so um [clears throat] shiii! [pause] oh, wait! . . . so he um he didn't want to come in and his mother was getting mad. His mother wanted to go out there looking for him. And he just started running off with his friend. And um they heard something in this tree and it was a thing . . . something . . . I think it was a skinwalker jumped down and they started running towards . . . no, they went around the other way so the mother couldn't see them. So when they got back in the house, the skinwalker killed the mother. And then wait . . . and um they were running back and then um

"Shiii" is a common colloquial expression among these children, generally meaning, "oh, shoot!"

... the skinwalker started walking towards their house and it knocked on the door. They didn't answer so they um ... so it walked in the house and it killed both of them and it started walking and walking and walking. So someday it might get you!

Here it is clear that Charlene has a limited knowledge of skinwalkers and their traditional activities; it is also clear that she is trying out her knowledge in a social situation where she will not be evaluated harshly if her efforts at representing skinwalker are not really successful. By inserting this narrative in a session where all kinds of "scary" stories are being told, Charlene can take a minimal kind of responsibility for the representation of accurate cultural information. Notice that she says, "*I think it was a skinwalker*" after hesitating to name the "thing." In this way Charlene is hedging on accountability. Her unfamiliarity with the form is apparent in the hesitation, false starts, and rephrasings. In the end, frustration with her own inexperience in dealing with this particular type of story leads her to revert back to a really familiar form and end the story with a traditional ghost story closing which plays on the form of the catch routine: "So someday it might get you!" In an earlier narrative session Charlene had told such a traditional ghost story catch and received the frightened and amused response she desired from her approving audience. In this case, the ending does not get the expected response of shrieks of surprise and fear mainly because Charlene has not sufficiently cued the expectations of her audience.

For Charlene, though, the performance is a somewhat successful first attempt at skinwalker narratives. She is not evaluated harshly by her peers, but rather allowed to fade back into the audience as Margaret tells another "scary" story about two boys in a haunted house. Whether or not her peers would call Charlene's narrative a "skinwalker story" is questionable; however, they have allowed her to use her limited knowledge of skinwalker in creating a narrative for performance within the peer group. As she experiments with this particular narrative form and as she listens and responds to other narrators of skinwalker stories, Charlene acquires greater and greater competence not only with the knowledge of skinwalkers and

their activities but in the appropriate ways to talk about skinwalkers within a narrative performance frame. For Charlene and for all these children, competence involves the relationship of knowledge and expressive ability. As this example has shown, the two domains are not mutually exclusive but constantly interface within the performance of these narratives. In actuality, then, it is impossible to talk about cultural knowledge evinced in these stories apart from the expressive competence of the child-performer and vice versa.

While this particular study is not strictly developmental in the sense of tracing age-graded changes in the acquisition of particular communicative and narrative skills, and the cognitive abilities related

to such skills, it does seek to demonstrate the areas in which children develop such competencies. As we discuss these areas of narrative competence, it will be important to remember that as children perform each story within the peer group, they recognize that that narrative is subject to evaluation for its skill and effectiveness within that particular narrative session. It is through this exposure to evaluation by their peers that children are able to become truly competent. In discussing Piaget's concept of the peer group, Ginsberg and Oppen (1969) suggest that:

As the child grows older ... he is more and more thrown into the company of older children who are not as solicitous as adults. Other children do not try so hard to penetrate the obscurities of his



Hopi Butterfly Dancer
Ganado, AZ 1978
Photographer: Kenji Kawano

language. Moreover, they argue with him; they challenge what he says and force him to defend himself. It is under social pressures of these kinds that the child is gradually forced to adopt better modes of communication. (p. 94)

For the Navajo child-narrator, these social pressures to communicate in more appropriate ways reveal themselves in the kinds of evaluation comments given by peers. Critical assessments of these stories are typically phrased in terms such as: "Ohhh! That was really scary!" or "That isn't so scary," which focus on the point of the narrative and indicate one way or the other whether the narrator has effectively involved the audience in a competent performance. (Evaluative comments regarding specific competence in any given feature of narrative performance will be discussed in detail below.) While the critical vocabularies of these children are limited to comments such as the ones described above, they very effectively indicate to peers whether or not they have given a competent performance.

Structural Features of Narrative Competence

Competence in structuring a well-formed narrative is certainly a central area of concern for narrators, for it is on this basic structure that stylistic and interactional elaboration must play. The present analysis will focus, then, on such structural concerns. Navajo children themselves recognize the importance of structure and plot development; this recognition is expressed, albeit fuzzily, in terms of "parts" of stories. In the following example, the ten-year-old narrator, Lou Billison, recognizes that his narrative is lacking because he doesn't know the information to fill out specific "parts":

One time my friend at Window Rock, one time she told me this story about when she went to her grandma's at Tohat-chi. Um, she said they were playing, her, her cousins and her brother. And then they saw something black go across there. Then they told their uncle and then their uncle went out to find it. Then they keep running and then they caught up with that thing. It was a skinwalker . . . in a wolf — a black wolfskin. And she didn't tell me the part, that part. Anyway, they kept following him. And then they asked him some questions. They go, "How come you're running out in the daytime?" He goes, "Because I want to." Then they asked him some more questions. Then finally they go "Get out!" First they told

him to get out of the skin. Then he wouldn't. And so they said, "We're gonna shoot you dead." Then he didn't get out. Then when they were about to shoot him, they couldn't pull the handle back. Pull it and shoot it but [interruption] pull the trigger back. And then it took off when they were still trying to. Then she didn't tell me the part about that other part.

It is precisely these necessary "parts" that create and sustain a competent narrative performance. Labov (1972), in expanding on his previous work with Waletzky proposes six elements in the structure of a well-formed narrative (Labov and Waletzky, 1967). These elements may be used as a systematic means of discussing the variables of narrative competence in structure, though of course the emphasis here is on the evaluation of such competence within the peer group. Labov's six elements of narrative structure simply provide an organizational framework for this discussion; he gives us the formal terms for the same important structural dimensions that Navajo children evaluate in the stories they tell each other:

1. Abstract
2. Orientation
3. Complicating Action
4. Evaluation
5. Result or Resolution
6. Coda

These sections are listed in their usual order of occurrence, but Labov indicates that most narratives do not, in fact, contain all of these elements. Since Labov's minimal definition of narrative involves simply a pair of temporally ordered events, only the "complicating action" section is necessary for a minimal narrative. Those narratives that contain all six elements may be referred to as "extended narratives" (Labov 1972; Kernan 1977). It is important to recognize that in evaluative terms, narratives that contain all six elements are not necessarily "better" than narratives that include only two or three elements; as indicated above, that judgment rests with an audience of peers. However, each of these elements may contribute to the understanding and appreciation of that audience in a variety of meaningful ways and therefore ultimately enhance the success of the narrative. While Labov's notion of narrative structure provides a systematic means of discussing the variables of narrative competence in

formal terms, only within the storytelling event is the real nature of narrative competence negotiated and accepted. Through the interaction of a group of peers engaged in storytelling, the relative importance of each of these elements is constantly renegotiated as individual children learn to create and sustain competent narrative performances.

"Abstracts" present a brief resume of the entire story or the result of the story. They are used both to introduce the story and to frame the following action as narrative for the audience. Narrative frames are often generic markers; they also mark the boundaries of the narrative itself, separating it from other types of discourse. Abstracts, then, are only one kind of frame that structurally mark the following bits of discourse as narrative; they differ from other types of frame such as the formulaic "once upon a time" or "one day" in that they also provide a summary of the narrative action that follows. A good example of this type of frame — the abstract — is the first sentence of this eleven-year-old girl's personal narrative: "My story is about when I was at my grandma's house." Interestingly, this quite limited abstract focuses the attention of the audience on a particularly significant generic marker — the notion that the action occurred at "grandma's house." This phrase might initially seem to be an orientation rather than abstract; however, this particular phrase is quite consistently characteristic of personal experience narratives concerning skinwalker contact. It is used repeatedly in skinwalker narratives and may be considered a generic marker. This abstract, although definitely limited in scope of summarization, cues the audience that a culturally significant form is about to be performed; it also *indirectly* summarizes the action of the narrative to follow in a general way. In other words, the audience is led to expect a narrative where the individual and skinwalker are involved in some type of interaction and where the individual triumphs.⁴ The specific content of the tale is then spun out in the narrative.

⁴The triumph of the individual over skinwalker almost always occurs in personal experience narratives; however, fictional tales often end in less predictable ways.

This "abstract" kind of frame is rarely used by these Navajo children in introducing their skinwalker narratives. However, this may be a result of the kind of narrative session in which these stories were told. Since many of these narratives build on familiar plot structures involving familiar characters, intricate abstracts of the actions to come are not necessary. If one of these skinwalker personal experience narratives was to occur within an extended bit of conversation or dialogue, apart from such a narrative session, perhaps the likelihood of the incorporation of abstracts would increase.

The second element of narrative structure is termed "orientation" by Labov; this fulfills the function of providing necessary information regarding the time, place, occasion, and persons involved in the narrative's action. Competence in this areas of narrative structure involves an understanding of the needs of one's audience; the narrator must have the sensitivity to recognize how much detailed orientation is necessary to adequately inform the audience and draw them into the narrative experience. Labov and Waletzky (1967) suggest that the narratives of children often don't provide sufficient background information. Piaget has indicated that this problem often stems from egocentric language, which is a product of children's "inability to take the other person's point of view" (Ginsberg and Oppen, 1969, p. 93). Often when this lack of adequate orientation occurs, it is dealt with by requests for clarification on the part of the audience. For example, in the following narrative, John Begay, eleven-years-old, uses the personal experience form to weave an exciting story that involves many of the members of his peer group and their experience with a skinwalker. He is testing the limits of believability in the wildest ways. However, another child (Charlie Damon) recognizes that the only way this story could possibly be true is if it happened when the boys were really young; so, he questions John: "When did it happen?"

JB: Once when me, me, Darryl, Byron, Mitchell were camping out. We were camping out and we were just sitting by the fire talking. And then we heard some things and we didn't

know what it was, so Darryl grabbed his little pellet gun and his teddy bear. And then he started shooting at it. And then Byron, Byron got his little squirt gun . . . that's when we were in about third grade or second grade. Then Mitchell grabbed his beebie gun and then he grabbed my truck and threw it at it but nothing happened and so and so we just started running back into my house. We told my mother and she told us to sleep in the house. So we just stayed up watching TV. We heard something knocking on the window. Then Byron started crying. We heard something scary knocking on there, so I ran into my mother's room. She came over; she looked through the window. She saw something looking at her. She opened the window and she said it started running off, so she let us sleep in her bedroom. And then when we were sleeping, Darryl had a nightmare. I guess something was knocking on the window. Then Mitchell heard it. He didn't know what to do. He just ran up and grabbed Byron and Darryl. Me, Darryl, all of us four were crying. My mother couldn't go to sleep so she put us in the living room. Then we were asleep and then there we saw something hairy in there. Then Byron screamed. He got out his squirt gun and started shooting at it.

CD: When did it happen?

JB: When we were small, like in second or third grade. We heard it knocking at the door and Mitchell started really crying and it ringed the doorbell and Darryl wouldn't; and we told Darryl to answer it and he wouldn't go answer it. We told Byron but he didn't want to. We heard someone trying to get it. We got scared. Then Mitchell, Mitchell went over there and looked out the window. He saw something big. It was real white out there and he didn't know what to do so he just ran back. And we told our mother. She went out there and it was just the *milkman* — goodbye!

Realizing that an appropriate orientation could save his narrative, John quickly picks up on this cue and reassures his audience that the events occurred "when we were small like in the second or third grade"! He then

proceeds with the narrative. This example clearly shows that the ability to adapt language use to the requirements of audience or addressees is a most important element of narrative competence. We also see that if a narrator fails to adequately orient the audience, questions as to details of setting, time, or persons involved may arise throughout the narrative, not only in the beginning moments. In this case, John provides the orientation early in the narrative; but it is not picked up by his audience and he is forced to re-orient them near the end of the story. A poorly oriented narrative can prove not only confusing to the audience but also meaningless if the point is obscured through the fuzziness of setting. Here, John's surprise ending will lack the force it demands if the audience is not effectively following the details of orientation.

The other extreme of problems with inadequate or faulty orientation lies in the inclusion of too much detail. While this problem may seem initially not so serious in developmental terms it can effectively ruin the flow and the point of a narrative just as easily. In other words, too much setting tends to interfere with the flow of the narrative, to distract the audience, and frequently bore them before the real action ever begins. A beautiful case in point is this skinwalker story told by ten-year-old Theresa Etsitty:

TE: One time we were at our house and um and um um um I guess . . . no it wasn't that . . . we were were at our house and then I guess my mom and dad was sleeping in the bedroom. Right here is our trailer [uses piece of paper as trailer]; this is how our trailer looks on the inside and then it looks like that . . .

CA: Uhhuh.

TE: And then this bedroom right here [pointing] . . . there's a bedroom right here and then there's a closet; right here's the bed. And then right here is the stereo. This is the room and then this right here is another wall and then right here is another wall; right here right here's a door and this one goes right here and this one right here. And then the washing machine's right there. And then the toilet bowl's right here. And my mom and dad were sleeping right here and the window's

right here. And then they heard some . . . a horse; they heard it knock on the window. And then, then, so then my mom didn't think nothing of it. So she just went back to sleep. And then that um the horse it knocked on the window again. And then I guess after it knocked on the window my dad heard it and then he looked outside. He didn't see anything and then we heard some horse . . . I think it was a horse on top of the trailer. And then um and then um after that um um and then and then I guess it went up to the front door. And then after it went up to the front door, it was knocking on the door. And it was scratching on the door. And then I guess in the morning when we looked at the door it was all scratched up. And we saw a horse hoof by the um thing. That's all.

In this case, Theresa is so intent on giving every possible detail of the setting, even to the description of the location of the toilet bowl (which, incidentally, never figures in the action of the narrative), that she exhausts the attention span of her audience before she ever really gets to the plot of the narrative. Theresa is still unsure about the relationship between animals and skinwalkers and this also comes out in the narrative; however, the most interesting point about this narrative lies in the over-attention to detail. As Theresa told the story, she sketched out the details of the architectural and decorative dimensions of the house by drawing an imaginary plan on a piece of paper with her finger. At first her friends were interested in this novel approach, but they soon appeared to lose interest. By the time Theresa finished her story, not one child was paying enough attention to even comment on her bizarre suggestion that it was a horse who had been knocking at the door!

This same balance between adequate detail and economy of expression is important in the formulation of narrative events comprising plot structure or the third structural element — complicating action. The incorporation of details here refers both to descriptive detail (as discussed in the orientation section) and to structural detail, the number of clauses used to

move from orientation to coda. Within the complicating action section of narratives, descriptive detail performs many of the same functions as in orientation. Through these details the storyteller makes the unfamiliar actions of the narrative somehow familiar to the audience; in this way the audience is drawn into the narrative frame and are helped to identify with the narrative's action. When necessary details are omitted, a disjuncture may occur between what the audience knows and understands and what is occurring within the narrative frame.

Sometimes the omission of detail gives the audience a chance to enter into the narrative event in a new way, as the missing piece is added by a member of the audience. In the case of one narrative, a member of the audience responds to the narrator's description of his brother's bike, "a ten-speed, that cheap new good bike" by adding that "It was a Br-7." In this case, the narrative is then picked up immediately as if the detail had been added by the narrator. Such collaboration on narrative details involves not only structural competence but interactional competence as well.

Competence in balancing detail and economy of expression in narrative also involves the actual selection and ordering of narrative events that make up the structure of the plot. While some of the narratives simply outline the action of the story in the most economical way possible, others weave intricate details of the action together and construct subplots, which may or may not eventually be resolved. Competence in handling details of structure depends to a great extent on the verbal skills of the narrator, but it also depends on the narrator's understanding of the interest and involvement of the audience. Even the most interested audience can become bored by too much action related in a confusing or irresponsible manner. The attention span of the audience must also be assessed by narrators who are quite proficient in storytelling skills. For ultimately, an audience will not tolerate overly long, extended narratives as is revealed in the following example by eleven-year-old Donald Lope:

DL: Once at my grandma's as we were coming back, going over there from here me, my father, my mo-

ther, and my brother. These guys were going on the dirt road there, and we heard something outside. They were going "Haooooo!" [ghostly sounds] like that. Then I got scared. Me and my little brother and my big brother were sitting in the back. We were scared and then we got to the house. Then that thing, that "Haooooo" was almost right by the house, so my father told my uncle. Then we went out that night to look around, to see what it was, but we didn't find anything. So we went back inside. Then I guess it came over that night. Then it was going "Ahaoooo" and "Klt-looopaaaah" going something like that . . . whistling and then like getting hungry type. And then after a while we heard it down . . . me, my father, my uncle, and my brother and my other uncle went outside to see what it was. And then I guess we looked around. Then over there I guess by the barn there's this pile of hay, us guys went over there. Then we saw some footprints like . . . almost like bear tracks. It was about as big as . . . see, about five inches wide and two, three inches, um three inches long. And us guys we didn't know what it was so we went back inside. Then [we] got the guns, then went outside again. We went over there by the haystack. Then I guess I saw it and I turned around like that around like turn around. Then I guess, he was standing on the barn. Then I go, "Look!" There he is!" Then my uncle took five shots into the sky and I guess I guess he took five shots into the sky. Then that thing took off. Then my uncle and those guys went to get a medicine man, to sing for us, to see what it was. And that night he told us to go outside and take the guns and see what he buried by the house. Then we went right there. Then we went right by the steps, the porch. Then that medicine man dug it up. Then my uncle took two shots at it. Then it started like wiggling around and then it stopped. I guess it died. And that thing that we saw that night, we heard it again. Then that medicine man said some kind of prayer and we went out to look

for it with that medicine man there. I saw it again. It was over there by the outhouse [giggles] by the outhouse. It went over there. Then it was going "Ahaoooo!" [whistles] like that! Then me, my uncle, my father, my brother, and my other uncle, and the medicine man went over there. Then we saw those tracks, same tracks. The it was over there by the sheep corral.

Then my uncle took two shots at it. Then I guess he shot it. Then there was like bloodstains on the ground. There was this one bloodstain on the wood. It was kinda like poison blood. Then that day we went over there again to look at it, the bloodstain. Then we went over there. We were looking at it. And the last time . . . I guess all that time the wolfman was dead, that wolfman and skinwalker was dead behind the sheep corral. Then I was riding my bike around. Then with my little cousin us guys were riding around. Then we hit that sage brush, then we crashed. Then my little brother started crying because we almost crashed right by that skinwalker. Then my uncle said, "Hey, look it's turning over. What's this? It's that thing.

ER: It's like a man dead." That's the end.

Here, although the narrative was well-told, exciting, and involving, the audience could only take so much. In the end, Ed Roanhorse had to take matters into his own hands and step in to end the narrative. There simply were too many narrative events happening within a single narrative and, as Ed perceived, it could have gone on forever. In this case, the expectations of the audience were violated in a most interesting way. Donald quite effectively built the structure of his narrative to create audience expectations; he built his narrative to a peak — except he did this *several* times. Everytime the audience presumed the resolution of the complicating action was about to occur, another complicating action evolved and prolonged the satisfaction of audience expectations. The audience was thwarted again and again.

This example indicates quite clearly the importance of the relationship between the complicating action section and the result or resolution section of narratives.

A result or resolution will only be meaningful and involving for the audience if the preceding complicating actions have been selected and structured carefully. Only if the expectations of the audience have been successfully created within the narrative performance, can those expectations be satisfied as the complications are resolved. If the sequencing of events of the complicating action is confused or jumbled, the result or resolution will be weakened. In the following example the eleven-year-old narrator has a great deal of trouble selecting and organizing the narrative events. Although the point of the story does become clear in the end, the narrative is lacking in a number of areas of competent performance:

LD: One time I had a party, just last year in April, for my birthday; it was really in April. And I guess I had a slumber party. We ate and I had cakes and my two [garbled] friends they came. And I guess we were having our party and so and so then they came . . . we stayed up all night and my mom was working that night. Everybody was home. And then um I guess those guys were cutting out and me and just us girls were there. Those guys wanted some beer [giggle] and I told them my dad has some. And we were gonna go over there but we heard something and we didn't know what it was. My dad was sleeping in there. We were in this one room by ourselves. We were eating cokes and pop and potato chips and then that night we had enchiladas. Then um Deanna came and — and Irvina. And I guess we heard it and it was kinda knocking on the window like. And we looked outside. It was just looking in. I got scared, everybody just got terrified. Finally, finally um um I don't know I guess it was just knocking at the window and so so we told . . . I got up and those other girls were scared and we all went in there. We told my dad . . . we told my dad and he he he got got his gun out. We have about five guns in the house . . . some my mom hid. And then I guess I my mom was working that night and that next day everybody went home. We went outside and [pause] and then then my dad shot it that night and that morning we saw it

. . . we saw it laying by the almost by the butane thing, the butane bottle. And so and so um I guess um I guess he shot it. That night we had to go to a medicine man; he said they were trying to witch us. They were jealous of us. We have five cars. And we have . . . I don't know except they were just jealous of us.

In this case, the young narrator (Linda Dan) confuses and disorients the audience with problems of sequencing and ordering narrative events and details; as a result, she constantly rephrases and corrects her own narrative, in some cases confusing the audience more. These "remedial gestures" (McDowell, 1975) often interfere with the delivery of the plot and interrupt the flow of the narrative, as do all of the "I guesses" she feels obliged to insert because of her uncertainty.

Perhaps an even more significant connection between complicating action and result or resolution lies in the area of topic selection. In order to create and satisfy audience expectations, a narrator must not only order events carefully but must select those events — those elements of plot — with an eye towards the motivating and energizing cultural forces. As Abrahams (1968) has noted, performers of all kinds constantly draw on the energizing topics of their societies in order to actively involve their audiences. Here we find a basic requirement of competent narratives: the necessity of "tellability." And here, too, we find a dimension of narrative that Labov (1972) has not included in his minimal definition: The subject of a narrative must be appropriate, interesting, audience-involving, and motivating; narratives must focus on culturally dynamic topics of concern. Certainly these skinwalker stories do just that — by focusing on the actions of and reactions to the skinwalker figure who is so symbolically significant for the Navajo, these child-narrators select topics extremely meaningful for both themselves and their audiences. Not only does this topic selection make for an exciting story, one that involves the audience fully, but it also provides, through such involvement, a powerful means of commenting on and indeed altering social relationships.

Topic selection is closely connected with another of Labov's elements of

narrative structure, "evaluation." Used in this way, the term evaluation is quite different from the way we have used it previously in referring to judgment of a performance of an audience. Here Labov uses the term evaluation to refer to the point of the story, "its *raison d'être*: why it was told and what the narrator is getting at" (1972, p. 366). Labov suggests that narrators are constantly warding off the question "So what?" in regard to their narrative performance. Originally, Labov and Waletzky (1967) suggested that narratives contain a cluster of evaluative clauses near the end of each story. Later, however, Labov (1972) modified this statement somewhat in positing that such evaluative clauses may occur throughout the narrative and that they are not normally clustered in any one place. Evaluative statements occur throughout many of the skinwalker narratives presented here.

Labov suggests that evaluation occurs infrequently in the narratives of the pre-adolescent Black children with whom he worked (1972); however, these skinwalker narratives involve a great deal of evaluation, which functions in a number of the ways Labov discusses. As Watson (1973) has indicated, the evaluation element as defined by Labov actually includes a number of narrative techniques and narrative functions. Many of the narratives presented here illustrate that overarching function of reminding the audience of the point of the story. An almost classic example of the elaboration of the point of the story, told by eleven-year-old Vickie Natani, can be seen in this narrative:

VN: Um one time we were at my grandma's. And then me, my cousin, Darlene, she's in eighth grade . . . we went to the bathroom. And something, we saw something outside. We told my uncle and he came out there. It got closer and then we got really scared. We just still went to the bathroom. We heard something making noise and then um um we ran back up. We came back down with her. Then he said he said, "Maybe that's something that's trying to trying to do something to you two." Then he said, then he said, "It's scary when you're alone outside at night." And he said, "How come you guys were out here?" We said, "Because we were going to the bath-

room." Then he said, "Oh." Um that we were gonna go back to the house and we did and he got his gun. And then he shot. And then and then that thing just took off. And then the other night we went to the bathroom again and we went back to bed. And then the same thing happened again and we told my uncle. And then he said that maybe it's the same thing. So he snuck and then it was a wolfman, it was a skinwalker and then and then we told that . . . they took us to the medicine man and that um that wolfman was trying to do something to us . . . that he was trying to get us killed. Then um then my grandma said, "Never go out by yourselves again." So we never did. We always go with somebody big. The end.

In this story, the moral or explicit point of the story is very clearly elaborated. It is given special force as well, since Vickie puts the statement of the real point of the story in the mouth of her grandmother, perhaps the most respected member of her family. Many times reminders of the point of a story are cloaked in much more subtle ways and depend to a great extent on the relationship between teller and audience, the shared cultural understandings, and the kinds of values that may be taken for granted.

In narrative sessions such as the ones with which we are dealing here, the point of the narratives shared may be quite different from the same narratives told within a conversational frame as illustrative examples for some meaningful effect. In other words, Vickie's story told within the peer group at school may emphasize a number of potential points, only one of which is indicated in the closing clauses. Her grandmother may have used the same story for the single purpose of convincing Vickie of the importance of never going outside alone in the dark. Besides emphasizing the narrative's significance, Labov suggests that evaluation also functions for "self-aggrandizement," the narrator's desire to create the best possible self-image (1972). We have suggested earlier that skinwalker stories, especially personal experience skinwalker stories, function quite effectively to create and help maintain "face" for Navajo children,

since the narrators are generally revealed to be brave, intelligent, and daring in their encounters with the dangerous, evil skinwalker. A final use of evaluation as described by Labov is to help the audience in following the narration by "emphasizing the point where the complication has reached a maximum: the break between the complication and the result" (Labov and Waletzky, 1967, p. 35). Suspension of the action both emphasizes the narrative's point and helps to distinguish the complicating action from the result. In these narratives of encounters with skinwalkers such a function is usually performed by such statements as "I was really scared" and "I didn't know what to do." These statements occur so frequently in skinwalker stories that they might almost seem to be generic markers.

In his particular sample of narratives, Labov (1972) found that all narratives of personal experience included elements of evaluation, while narratives of vicarious experience did not contain any evaluation. This might lead one to suspect that evaluation itself is a generic marker. However, in the case of skinwalker stories, elements and devices of evaluation can be found not only in personal experience stories but in legends and fictional narratives as well. In the light of this new evidence, it might seem more correct to assume that particular stories involved with culturally-specific dangers, conflicts, and resolutions may be more likely to incorporate evaluative elements.

Personal experience stories would be likely to include evaluation, then, because the narrator accurately assesses the cultural dynamics at work, while recapitulations of the plot of a television show might be concerned with cultural concerns not specifically relevant to either narrator or audience. Once again evaluation is intimately tied to the point and purpose of the narrative, to topical concerns, and to the relationship between narrator and audience. One other significant point in this regard is that such evaluative devices may be included because the culture-specific definition of that particular kind of story involves their inclusion. In other words, children's repertoire of storytelling devices and formulae may include the use of evaluative clauses and they may employ such evaluative devices not for any of the particular functions

described by Labov but because their inclusion is part of the way you tell a story (Watson, 1973). In the case of skinwalker stories this seems a definite possibility, since the different types of evaluation are spread across a range of subgenres. This is not to say that Navajo children do not employ evaluation in their skinwalker narratives for any of Labov's purposes. On the contrary, as we have shown, all of Labov's varied functions of evaluation can be illustrated with examples of Navajo children's skinwalker stories; however, there may also be a sociocultural dynamic at work, which dictates that "good" skinwalker stories include these elements of evaluation regardless of the particular semantic, syntactic, or social function they may perform within the narrative. Competence, in any case, involves the appropriate use of such evaluative devices.

Labov's final element, the "coda," consists of those clauses that follow the resolution and signal that the narrative is finished. Sometimes this coda may bring the audience "back to the point at which they entered the narrative" (1972, p. 296). In this way, then, coda is another term for closing frame; it functions to separate the narrative world from the real world and to transport both narrator and audience back to the latter. While the coda is not a necessary element of narrative structure, it can be a most useful one, especially in cases where the complicating action has not been effectively resolved. Many of the Navajo children involved in this study automatically concluded their narratives with "The end" or "That's it!" and thereby sounded a note of finality. These formulaic closing frames are the most frequently used codas for these Navajo children. They effectively assure that the audience understands that the story is over, the action completed. In general, it seems fair to say that children rely more consistently on such formulaic codas, while more sophisticated narrators employ extended codas, which act to make generalizations concerning the action of the story or to bring the audience up to date on later doings of a main character, and so on.

Use of the formulaic codas depends to a great extent on the needs of both audience and narrator to satisfy a sense of closure. If a narrative has been adequately structured with the complication building up expectations

and the resolution successfully fulfilling those expectations, there will be less need for closure to be accomplished in this almost arbitrary fashion. However, for these children such formulaic closings are simply a part of a story, a necessary part, without which the story would not be a "real" story. In the following example, the storyteller, eleven-year-old Susie Dan, demonstrates a particularly strong dependence of formulaic closings, as she uses every closing formula she knows to bring her narrative to an end effectively:

SD: This is a true story, the one I'm gonna tell now. Once I went camping with my . . . this is a true story. I went camping with just just one of my friends named Kathy. And we went camping out. We were camping out with our with our brothers. With two boys, just two boys. Then I guess we were camping by . . . what's that place? Monument Valley. And we were camping over there and we got really scared cause we heard coyotes howling and everything. And our tent there was a there was two boys keep watching us from up on a hill . . . every step we'd go. And uh we, I guess they turned into coyotes and they started coming to our tent and everything, started howling while we were sleeping. They came in there and they started . . . they almost they almost tore the thing . . . they tried to open the tent but they couldn't with their teeth or anything. We got really scared. We didn't know what to do. And our tent had two windows and a door. And we took off and we were really running as fast as we could. We came to this house. This house nobody lived there and it had a padlock on there. We didn't know what to do. We tried to open the windows and everything but we couldn't open it. So we ran and we ran and we ran and we ran for a long time. We got to the highway and we . . . and these cars . . . there was no cars on the highway I guess. And then there was a car up ahead. This car up ahead about a mile . . . we could see it. And soon it was about to get morning a little about one in the morning. We kept running we ran to that car and here there was

dead people in that car, all blood was all over the windows and everything. You could tell those um two coyotes did that. We got really scared. We didn't know what to do. So we all we both screamed. And we *ran*, we kept running and finally we came to this little town.

YL: Was it Kayenta?

SD: Yeah . . . Kayenta. We came to Kayenta. We went to the police station. We told them about that we were camping out there and he took us back up there. And we went to get our tent and all our equipment and everything. We couldn't find those . . . we were looking for . . . we couldn't find those two coyotes. Then we went to that that place, that house where nobody lived at um we showed them there. And they busted that door down and inside there was heads all decorated, blood of bodies all over. And there was people's clothes all over. And then those wolves, those coyotes came over there. And then we went back and uh they called our parents. They we told, then my mom had to take me to her medicine man cause they put something on us. The medicine man said we had to go back over there and we didn't know what they were gonna do. And here they took a arrowhead out of my head and then a bone, a dead body's bone, out of my neck. Then um they took something out of my leg. They want my leg to cut off. And then they took they took the same things out of Kathy too. And we didn't know what to do. Then my mom and those guys were just crying and everything. Then we took Kathy home. We told her mom about it. And then she paid us for letting the medicine man see her. And then we went home and we lived happily ever after. Amen, the end.

Here, Susie has juxtaposed the formulaic ending of traditional fairytales, "we lived happily ever after" with the final word of the Catholic prayers she has been taught in school, "Amen," which lends a "so-be-it" quality to the closing frame. As if these two were not enough, she at least concludes with a simple "the end." There certainly can be no question in the minds of her audience that the story is

Juanita
Photographer: Tony Celentano, 1980



definitely over. However, there are other cases where the narrator neglects to conclude the story either by resolving the complicating action or by signaling the conclusion with an appropriate formulaic coda, as in the following examples:

MB: My mom, she went over to Toni's grandmother's and I went over there too. They were telling us about this one night that they were sleeping in the trailer and they heard something like a horse on top of their trailer. And then they said that it sounded like it jumped off. So then they sent a man out there. He went all around the trailer and came back in and said there was nothing. So then the next day they were still talking about it. Then after that that night they had a sing. The medicine man came over to their trailer.

RD: That's it?

MB: Umhm.

JD: I know one.

Teacher: Ok.

JD: Last time at my grandma's house, we were sitting in my camper, me

and my cousins and my little sister, Julia. We were sitting there and the dogs were barking at something over the hill, so we walked over there and that hairy thing was standing up there and us guys walked by and our grandpa, our grandpa went outside and then he was gonna look for it and he didn't see it. And then we told him where it was and then we took him down the hill and it wasn't there.

CY: That's all?

JD: [Shakes head yes.]

In both of these examples, the ten-year-old narrators failed to arouse the expectations of their audiences in any meaningful way. While they talked about skinwalkers, a potentially involving topic, each failed to build the story to a climax. Because the skinwalker could not be found, an exciting encounter could not be sustained and the narrative dissolves. Neither of these boys effectively concluded their stories, for even though the stories were not interesting or exciting, they might have been salvaged by the use of adequate framing devices. Instead, members of the audience ask "That's it?" and "That's all?" quite

effectively, indicating to the narrators that their stories somehow failed. While the use of a coda might not have transformed each narrative into a really "good" or "really scary" story, it would at least have forestalled additional questions and perhaps have indicated a higher level of narrative competence.

Conclusion

In reviewing Labov's elements of narrative structure, we have explored the parameters of competence with narrative structure and form and, more importantly, have indicated the ways Navajo children evaluate and assess the competence of their peers. Competence in ordering and structuring a narrative remains intimately connected with the interactions of a narrator's peers, for it is through peer group interaction that children learn what is acceptable, what is exciting and involving, and what is culturally meaningful. The assessment of narrators' competence in story structuring is not one that can be simply measured on a scale of cognitive abilities and age-graded achievements but one that must be viewed in the light of what their peers find both acceptable and meaningful. Children are not interested



Window Rock, AZ 1975
Photographer: Kenji Kawano

in how their narratives rate on a scientist's scale of cognitive development but are acutely attuned to the ways in which their peers evaluate and respond to their stories.

This analysis has been restricted to one particular type of narrative, the skinwalker story, which, though deeply rooted in Navajo traditional verbal art, is performed enthusiastically and elaborated upon in English. Peer group techniques and strategies of evaluation can be found in other narrative forms as well: In the other narrative genres I collected — myths, coyote tales, narrative jokes, for example — this kind of evaluation was also present. Although this data has been drawn strictly from only Navajo peer groups, I believe that further investigation will demonstrate that this kind of peer group evaluation of competence has broad cross-cultural implications. Further study is needed to determine across a wide range of cultures the exact nature and influence of the peer group in the acquisition and evaluation of communicative competence of all kinds.

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ED218017

RC 013 382

FEATURE ARTICLE

The Survival of Native American Languages

by Jack D. Forbes

I. Background

In Cuzco, for centuries, the Indian had slouched along the streets with his poncho and his whispered Quechua; he had never dared, even when drunk, to mount the sidewalk or speak his Quechua out loud with his head held high [But in the 1960's] the mass meeting put the Indian on top of the monster. . . . The odor of coca and Quechua, permeating the air. Quechua, out loud from the throat; Quechua shouted, threatening, tearing away centuries of oppression. . . . (Blanco, 1972, pp. 46-47)

In 1838 a Baptist minister wrote of the Choctaw people

. . . that it would be worse than useless to spend time in obtaining a critical knowledge of their language, or of introducing into the schools such books as have been translated and published in Choctaw. The gospel and English language to all human appearances must be the means in the providence of God, of their spiritual and temporal salvation. (Noley, 1979, pp. 33-34)

These two quotes should help to illustrate how intimate is the relationship between colonialism and language status. It is not possible to consider native language apart from those processes which have resulted in the present dominance of English in North America and Spanish and Portuguese in Latin America.

Before the white invasion, Native American peoples possessed an extremely rich and varied language heritage. All of the languages had highly developed oral literatures. All of the languages were constantly innovating—developing new words, new phrases, new expressions, and new patterns of pronunciation.

It is wholly false to say that most Native Americans were "preliterate."

Indian people were extremely adept with language. Here are a few examples:

- Most Indian people were bilingual—many learned to speak more than two languages fluently.
- Native people developed the "sign language," an extremely useful means of communication (Cody, 1970; Tomkins, no date).
- Many Mexican groups developed systems of writing and many North American groups developed forms of writing using symbols which were either memory-aids or representations of whole phrases, thoughts, or words. The Micmacs, the Delawares, the Otchipwe, and other groups kept records by means of carved, painted, or beaded symbols (Leon-Portilla, 1963; Brinton, 1969; Garibay, 1953-1954; Basso and Anderson, 1973; Mallory, 1972).
- Oral literature, aided by carved, painted, or beaded symbols, reached a very high state of development, with vast amounts of knowledge being preserved and passed on.

It is well known that Indians can easily learn how to read and write, even without white schools.

It is wholly false to say that most Native Americans were "preliterate." Not only did they possess a vast oral literature but also written records preserved on skins, sticks, and beaded wampum were extensive. Records were also preserved through memorized sand paintings.

The European invasion probably destroyed 90 percent of native records, especially outside of the Southwest. More significantly, elitists and colonialists began a system of brainwashing which sought to destroy all aspects of the living native heritage.

The colonialist almost always seeks to make the conquered people lose confidence in their traditional cultures. One aspect of this strategy is to simply kill off the intelligentsia or prevent them from teaching the young (Forbes, 1973-1974). A second technique is to convince the native people that they are incompetent and that the conqueror's knowledge is superior. In the area of language the colonialists in the United States and Canada have done the following (although not all at once):

- Put forth the lie that native languages are "savage," "simple," "barbarous," or "archaic" and that Indians have to learn English to "advance" (Forbes, 1964);
- Put forth the notion (in contradiction to the above) that Indian languages are so complex that no native speaker can analyze or understand them, thus the "mystery" of native languages can only be solved by "trained" linguists (usually white);

- Developed systems of writing for native languages designed primarily to facilitate the learning of English, linguistic research, or to meet the cultural biases of English speakers (using the English alphabet, for example);
- Making learning to read and write a mystery by discouraging native efforts while teaching that Indians should sit back and wait for white linguists or educators to do it "right";
- Discouraging or ignoring all native self-literacy efforts.

It is well known that Indians can easily learn how to read and write, even without white schools. The Cherokee using Sequoyah's syllabary (alphabet based on syllables), the Cree using the Nehiyaw (Cree) syllabic alphabet, and the Eskimo of Canada using a form of the Nehiyaw syllabary have all done so. The Winnebago also used a syllabary of their own (Radin, 1963).

There is no evidence that the Cherokees, Crees, and Canadian Eskimos are any brighter than other natives. Why then are the Navajos illiterate in Navajo or Papagos in Papago? The answer appears as follows:

- The Cherokee, Cree, and Eskimo syllabaries are uniquely designed for these languages unlike artificially introduced white systems;
- The Cherokee, Cree, and Eskimo systems are logical and simple enough to be learned at home;
- The Cherokees, Crees, and Canadian Eskimos learned to write before using "helped" by the white team of BIA agents, experts, and educators. (They had not yet been taught that their languages were too mysterious for them to control.)

The United States and Canadian governments have tried to discourage the use of Cherokee, Cree, and Canadian Eskimo syllabaries even though such a policy means the decline of native literacy. The reason for this is quite simple: when Indian people control their own language, they control a significant part of their own lives. No colonial system can stand that.

Thus, the United States took over the Cherokee schools and suppressed the Sequoyah syllabary. The Cherokees

rapidly became illiterate. They also lost their land and became a people with no homeland. The United States, in short, was better able to destroy the Cherokee Nation after their language was brought under white supervision (Debo, 1970, 1940; Noley, 1979).

The battle for and against native languages is a crucial, fundamental battle.

The Canadian government has tried to discourage use of Cree and Eskimo syllabaries and to encourage use of English symbols to speed up assimilation. Once the Cree and Eskimo lose their own system of writing, they will become dependent upon white teachers and experts and formal schools. They will reach a new, more intensive stage of colonialization (Graburn and Strong, 1973; McNickle, 1973).

It is not hard to write in any native language. A good system of writing can be developed. Native people can control their own language development. They do not do so because they have been brainwashed into believing that the white experts sent among them possess some mysterious key to unraveling their language. They have also been taught to remain passive, to sit back and let white people take control of education.

It is ironic that whites who come to live with the Indian people and spend many years learning the native language (but not perfectly) then think they are the experts on that language. Even though they still have to check with native speakers to correct their own errors, they feel qualified to develop alphabets, teach courses, prepare dictionaries, and otherwise become official spokespersons to the world for that native language. Many such white experts are well intentioned. They cannot see their own roles in the maintenance of the colonial system. They cannot see how their own behavior reinforces feelings of native inferiority. They do not understand how a century of BIA oppression has warped native character and made it possible for white "experts" to move into the creative vacuum left by externally caused feelings of inadequacy.

Many Indian people were capable of distinguishing and imitating hundreds of bird calls and animal sounds. Many Indian people were capable of mastering the diverse sounds of several unrelated Native American languages (such as Hopi and Navajo, Yavapai and Apache, or Sioux and Cheyenne). Why then couldn't Indians recognize, classify, and create symbols for the sounds in their own languages? The Crees did, the Cherokees did, the Eskimos did, so we know it can be done.

We know that it can be done, but we also know that in many cases it is not being done. That is part of the background with which we must deal.

II. Liberation and Language

Many Native Americans concerned with self-determination and liberation have unfortunately neglected the use and development of native languages. This is sad, because so often the most oppressed sectors of the native population can communicate effectively only in Navajo, Papago, Sioux, Cree, or some other native tongue. A fundamental principle of liberation is: one cannot liberate a people while using a foreign language (Larteguy, 1972). Those Indian leaders who cannot or will not use their people's language are either naive or not really serious about liberation.

It is well to keep in mind an ancient saying of the Czech (Bohemian) people of Europe: "As long as the language lives the nation is not dead" (Dominian, 1917).

Many native people have intuitively realized for centuries that their language represents a key element not only in their culture but also in ethnic survival. The 30 million or more persons who still speak Indian languages in the Americas do not speak those languages by chance. For the most part, the preservation of the language has been a conscious element in resisting enforced assimilation or reduction to the status of a caste (*mestizo*, *ladino*, or "breed"). The vast majority of native people in the Americas still possessing a native nationality also possess their native language. In the United States a few groups, such as the Lumbees, have managed to survive without an Indian language, but they are culturally poorer for it. In any case, it is probable that their survival as Indians is due to the extreme nature of white racism toward people of color in North

Carolina and other states (Hurd, 1968; Catterall, 1968).

Generally speaking, an Indian without an Indian language, or an Indian group without a native language, is on the way to a new identity. This may not always be true today in the United States and Canada, but it has certainly been true elsewhere in the Americas. There is no reason to believe that people of native descent, especially those of mixed ancestry, can long preserve a separate ethnic identity even in the United States and Canada unless they also preserve their language.

For many years the Yaqui stubbornly refused to speak Spanish even when conversant with that language. The Yaqui still survive. The Opatas, on the other hand, chose to learn Spanish and give up their own tongue. Today there are no Opatas, only Opatá descendants (Forbes, 1957).

Elsewhere in the world we find that the Czechs, Ukrainians, Poles, Jews, Basques, Catalans, Bretons, Gaelic Scots, Irish, Welsh, Koreans, and many other peoples have, at one time or another, vigorously resisted the suppression of their languages (or are still doing so today). All of these people saw the survival of their languages as essential elements in ethnic survival. And they were, and are, right. The Poles who gave up speaking Polish are now Germans; and Basques who lost the Basque tongue are no longer Basques. More significantly, however, than the mere loss of ethnic identity is the loss of "soul." Once a people loses its own means of private communication, there is a risk of becoming totally captured by the ideas, values, thoughts, and myths of an alien people (Dominian, 1917; Graburn and Strong, 1973; Fanon, 1965, 1967a, 1967b; Said, 1980; Forbes, 1973-1974).

Let us not be deceived. The battle for and against native languages is a crucial, fundamental battle. It has not ended. It rages now more furiously than ever before.¹

¹Many native languages which were strong until a very few years ago, such as Navajo, are now beginning to be seriously eroded by a "fifth-column" of English-only tribal members who are often influential in tribal government offices and schools. This process is still more advanced with other communities.

We would be shocked if we were to visit Italy and find that the government always used English while the people spoke Italian.

It is true that in the United States, the federal government is giving some belated (and still token) attention to native language instruction. But that means little since the tribal and national Indian leadership thus far shows that it intends to allow native languages to be destroyed.

How many so-called "tribal" newspapers are published in a native language?

How many tribes have signs on their buildings, roads, monuments, campgrounds or other tribally owned facilities in their own language?

How many tribes keep their minutes and records in their languages?

How many tribes require all signs on businesses, stores, and motels to be written in both English and their own language?

How many tribes really encourage their tribal employees to be able to speak their own languages?

Even tribes where almost 90 percent of the people do not speak English except as a second language do not use their own native language for almost any official or public purpose whatsoever.

We would be shocked if we were to visit Italy and find that the government always used English while the people spoke Italian. We would be surprised if the newspapers and signs were in English even though only a small percentage of people could read English. We would wonder what could cause such a strange state of affairs.

Languages used only for defense tend to gradually die or retreat.

This situation exists on virtually every Indian reservation. The tribal governments are usually controlled by English-speaking or bilingual Indians who have accepted the assignment of a second-class, declining status to the native language. Furthermore, tribal procedures are designed, consciously or unconsciously, to help wipe out the native

tongue and prevent effective communication with the non-English-reading or speaking portion of the population.²

The battle for the survival of Indian languages is at a crucial state for the following reasons as well:

- The white mass-media are reaching more and more Indian people and, as yet, Indian languages are not being used except in a few radio broadcasts (many run by missionaries);
- More and more Indians are moving to the cities, where their languages become watered down from disuse and are not passed on to the children;
- Many old people who are fluent in the Indian language are dying off, and their children are not fully aware of the richness of the tongue (this is true for the smaller tribes);
- White control of Indian education is now greater than ever. Over half of all Indian pupils are now in white public schools, governed by state laws which are difficult for Indian parents to influence;³
- The federal government uses every device possible to promote only the English language. (This ranges from English-only signs and brochures at Indian national parks such as Canyon de Chelly to English-only road signs and government documents published by the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Office of Education; Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; Department of Agriculture; Department of Labor; Department of Housing and Urban Development; and dozens of other agencies.)⁴

²I have yet to see a significant use of a native language by tribal government for information purposes. The *Navajo Times*, for example, is published almost exclusively in English and has never varied in its approach. Navajo Community College published its first book (*Navajo Stories of the Long Walk Period*) in English, although with considerable use of Navajo place-names, etc.

³Under the *Indian Education Act* parent committees are supposed to exercise a major role in the public schools with Indian pupils. In fact, however, many such committees are administrator-dominated or are filled by assimilated Indians.

⁴The United States Civil Rights Commission is an exception, in that it did at one point issue audio-cassettes in several native languages.

- Fewer and fewer Indians can actually communicate fluently in an Indian language.

The battle for native languages is in many instances past its crucial stage; at this time it is being lost by most Indian peoples. At the same time, the overall struggle for economic, social, political, and ethnic liberation is also being lost (in spite of small gains here and there). Native people everywhere, from Argentina to Alaska, are being subjected to great pressures for conformity to European ruling groups. Everywhere the autonomy and isolation of native groups are being shattered by industrialization, new highways, all-pervasive government programs, loss of land, exploitation of natural resources such as petroleum, or by military conquest (as in Brazil).

Many native peoples have survived for 400 years only because of isolation. Physical isolation is now rapidly becoming impossible. We must, therefore, find new ways of surviving as separate peoples, and we must do it fast.

The use of the native language in every possible way and in every possible circumstance is one way to help "isolate" the people from the surrounding sea of European imperialism. However, we must also find ways to use our native languages which contribute to the overall liberation and self-development of the people. We cannot use our language solely as a defensive weapon. Languages used only for defense tend to gradually die or retreat.

The use of native languages is not only essential for ethnic survival, it is also crucial for the liberation of oppressed reservations. There can be no democratic or responsible government on any reservation where the leadership denies the people access to information they need for meaningful decision making. If the majority of the people speak primarily an Indian language, or understand it best, all tribal business should be conducted in the Indian language and all important documents (attorney's contracts, tribal memos, BIA correspondence, tribal contracts, tribal laws, minutes of meetings, and tribal rolls) must be available in the language of the people. If the native language is not being used in the above ways, it is good evidence that the tribal leadership does not want the people to know what is going on. Such an attitude is shared by

the BIA and is largely responsible for the continuance of colonialism.

In a real sense, the liberation of native languages from the bonds of colonialism also will represent the unleashing of the native masses. No liberation movement can succeed without the broad participation of the people. To participate, the people must be extremely knowledgeable about the conditions affecting them. This cannot occur without the full use of the native languages (Blanco, 1972; Fanon, 1965, 1967a, 1967b).

The full development of a language depends, in part, on the number of persons who can understand it.

III. The "Full Development" of Native Languages

Native American languages are fundamentally no different from European, Asian, and African languages. They are no more mysterious, simple, complex, difficult, or exotic than Albanian, Chinese, Mongol, Turkish, Malay, Yakuts, Finnish, or hundreds of other idioms which now experience full development and use.

Since the 1930s, at least, the Yakut of Siberia, a tribal non-European people, have had several hundred books published each year in their language. They also have plays, radio broadcasts, newspapers, magazines, and university classes in their language. The same thing is true for many tribal, non-European groups including the Kirghiz, Mongols, and Turks. If these tribal, native languages can be fully used in the modern world, then why not Native American languages?

The answer is that the Soviet Union, the Mongolian People's Republic, and certain other countries have encouraged native peoples to make full use of their languages. The United States and Canada have followed the opposite course, discouraging full use even to the point of causing the languages to disappear (Graburn and Strong, 1973; Lattimore, 1962; Fuchs and Havighurst, 1972; McNickle, 1973; United States Senate, 1969).

"Full development" for a language in the modern world means that the language is being used for every form of

communication desired or needed by the people and that it is evolving in order to meet their expressive needs, including artistic, musical, religious-philosophical, and political-strategic expression. A language is of little value to a people if it cannot describe that people's concepts. The following are evidence that a language is in a state of "full development."

- Radio and/or television broadcasting, with content determined by the native people or by individuals from the group;
- A wide range of books, pamphlets, brochures, and documents published each year in the language, including both translations and original works (the translations should especially include books and articles relating to specific practical problems faced by the people, ranging from electrical handbooks to problems of colonialism);
- Films produced in the native language by native producers and actors, including films covering practical, historical, cultural, political, and artistic themes;
- A sufficient number of newspapers and/or magazines published in the language, keeping the people well informed and providing outlets for poetry and other artistic expression;
- The use of other appropriate media such as audio tapes, filmstrips, and slide-tape combinations for educational purposes;
- The production of a full range of primers, books, and other educational materials in the native language so that every subject at least through high school can be taught, if desired, exclusively in the native language;
- The use of bilingual or native language signs and billboards in the area where that native idiom is spoken; and
- The full development of the native language vocabulary so that every possible subject and artistic concept can be dealt with (orally or in written form).

Quite clearly, full development will not be possible for every language. A certain number of speakers is necessary before, for example, books can be published economically. No hard and fast rule is available to determine the exact number



Tlingit Dancers
 Photographer and date not recorded.
 Courtesy of Alaska Historical Library,
 Juneau, AK

of speakers necessary, but let us look at the following: a book produced in off-set form and bound with paper covers can be printed for about two cents a page for 1,000 copies of 100 pages. That represents a cost of \$2.00 per copy or \$2,000. Five hundred copies would cost perhaps about \$3.50 a copy or \$1,700.00. One can see, therefore, that a tribe or group could afford to print books if they had a potential market of 500 to 1,000 reading-units. (A reading-unit is a home, family, library, or any other group or individual that might use or purchase a book.) A total population of from 2,500 to 5,000 probably would yield 500 to 1,000 reading-units.

A tribal budget of \$100,000 could yield as many as 50 books a year of 100 pages each, or 25 titles at about 200 pages, published in quantities of 1,000 each. (It should be borne in mind that many libraries in the United States, Canada, and Europe will purchase native language books simply to have them available for research use. This represents a potential market of perhaps 200 to 1,000 volumes.)

A language with fewer than 5,000 speakers will, of course, have some difficulty in supporting a publishing program. Groups with less than 2,500 speakers will not be able to afford to publish many books, even if a low-cost form

of production is used. On the other hand, sales to libraries may make it possible for even a small group to finance the publication of one or two books a year. Tribal subsidies or private grants may also help.

Large-scale, truly significant publishing programs, nonetheless, require the sale or use of at least 2,000 copies of a work, or a user-population of perhaps 7,500 (1,500 reader-units plus 500 sales to libraries). Many United States and Canadian languages, such as Eskimo, Cree, Otchipwe, Sioux, Pima-Papago, Shoshone-Comanche, Cherokee, and Navajo have at least 7,500 speakers.



Papago man playing basket drum with scraping sticks and basket resonator. Photographer and date not recorded; collected by Frances Densmore, Bureau of American Ethnology, Ca. 1920. Courtesy of Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

A number of others have from 2,500 to 7,500 speakers and can, therefore, have some publishing program.

The size of the user-population for any particular language is an important factor, however, especially if private individuals or government agencies are to be expected to publish or broadcast materials in a language. Realistically, Native Americans must consider ways in which groups speaking closely related, mutually intelligible dialects can standardize their language for broadcast and publishing purposes. The full development of a language depends, in part, on the number of persons who can understand it.

IV. Basic Problems of Native Communication

Of the 30 million speakers of native languages in the Americas, probably about 25 million speak one of the ten to fifteen major languages (including Quechua, Aymara, Guarani, Maya, Mexicano, Otomi, Zapotec, Cree, Mixteca, and Navajo). But the remaining five million speak hundreds of languages ranging in numbers of speakers from a dozen to perhaps 75,000.

One out of every three persons speaking an Indian language probably speaks Quechua, the idiom of the former Inca state. Two out of every three Indian

speakers probably speaks either Quechua, Aymara, or Guarani-Tupi, or a dialect of one of these three. Thus, at first glance there is a high degree of linguistic unity among Indians; and our problems would be simple if we all could master, let us say, Quechua and Guarani-Tupi. Unfortunately, however, most Indians seem to wish to develop and use their own local language, so we must consider not two or three, or even a dozen languages but several hundreds of them.

This introduces us to our first basic problem of native communicative-linguistic diversity, especially in North America.

A second problem to be considered consists of the fact that probably 100 million people of Indian descent speak only English, Spanish, French, or Portuguese. In the United States perhaps two-thirds of the 800,000 tribal members speak only English, while the 10 million Chicanos speak primarily Spanish, although a few thousand speak a Mexican Indian language also. Urban Indians, in particular, are usually forced to communicate principally or wholly in English except in Canada where the Cree language still is strong among Metis and tribal groups.

Undoubtedly, many traditional Indian symbols and signs can be used as a basis for an ideographic language.

The second basic problem, therefore, consists in the fact that, by default, Indian people are rapidly being divided into three great groups—the English-speaking group (United States and Canada), the Spanish-speaking group (Southwest to Patagonia), and the Portuguese-speaking group in Brazil. Indians are being, in effect, captured by three great (or terrible) colonial systems to the point where (1) the three groups can't communicate with each other; and (2) all pan-Indian, inter-tribal action will be conducted in one of these three European languages.

Perhaps this is an inevitable and even desirable development, but other options are available which need to be considered. They are:

- Develop an Indian ideographic system of writing which can be read by all Indian peoples regardless of their oral language;
- Encourage all Indians everywhere to learn Quechua as a pan-Indian native tongue (or perhaps Guarani-Tupi, Maya, or Cree, depending on the area);
- Develop a new Indian language building upon already adopted Indian words used in English, Spanish, or Portuguese, supplemented by new loan words from various native tongues and from existing jargons (such as the Chinook jargon of the Northwest Coast).

Let us examine each of these alternatives.

An Indian ideographic language is entirely feasible and fits in neatly with native traditions. Native Americans long have used pictographic symbols to represent ideas, objects, and actions. The sign language is also an example of an ideographic system. Basically, an ideographic system (like the Chinese and Japanese systems) is non-phonetic. Since the symbols are not based on sounds but rather on ideas, they can be read by any person regardless of the language he or she

speaks. For example, if  means "one sees" it can be read by a Navajo-speaker, a Sioux-speaker, or a Cree-speaker equally well.

Undoubtedly, many traditional Indian symbols and signs can be used as a basis for an ideographic language.

An ideographic system, if well designed, offers many advantages over a phonetic system. Sentences can be written quickly (such as  for "It is raining.").

It can also be learned quickly, if the symbols are chosen properly. On the other hand, time and effort are required for mastery, as well as the development of appropriate typewriter keys, before enough people know it to make it practical. Furthermore, white people will scoff and say "no, no" because it represents a break with current thinking.

The Chinese ideographic system, although somewhat cumbersome, has served the Chinese people well, especially since the many dialects of China are mutually unintelligible at the oral level. One might be able to argue that Chinese unity is in great part due to an ideographic language system while European disunity is partly a result of mutually-unreadable phonetic (sound-based) systems.³

The second approach, learning Quechua or some other widely-spoken native idiom, offers many advantages, especially if such a movement could be combined with a program guaranteeing study in one's own tribal tongue as well. Cree is already well on its way to becoming the native "national" language

³The People's Republic of China is now encouraging the adoption of a phonetic-style alphabet, but this will require that everyone master the Mandarin (northern) language. Non-Mandarin speakers will be at a disadvantage in this process.

of Canada, and it might lend itself to adoption throughout North America (especially since Otchipwe, Potawatomi, Algonkin, Naskapi, and all of the other Algonkian languages are quite clearly related to Cree). Mexicano, Maya, and Guarani-Tupi are widely spoken from Mexico southward and would also be excellent pan-Indian languages.

The greatest problem with this approach is the question of who chooses the language. Secondary problems include obtaining enough instructors, persuading people to learn another language, and overcoming tribal jealousies.

Adoption of a new pan-Indian jargon would not represent a departure from native traditions.

Quechua offers perhaps the best possibility since it is already spoken by millions of people, is a beautiful language with a rich history, and is already equipped with dictionaries and instructional materials.

The third approach is to develop a new pan-Indian language (this could be combined with the ideographic writing system, as could the use of Quechua). There are already hundreds of Indian words known to all of us who speak English: *puma, papoose, pecan, tomahawk, tamale, hammock, canoe, wigwam, hurricane, cannibal, hickory, raccoon, moose, peyote, kiva, kachina, caribou, condor, pemmican, tobacco, tomato, chocolate, potato, avocado, caucus, sachem, pee-wee, okay, wow, and succotash*. In addition, there are thousands of Indian words which are used in Spanish and Portuguese, such as *coyote, elote, atole, pozole, cabore, curiboca, maraca, jacal, and jicama*. Also, there are many words used in jargons—such as the Chinook jargon—which might be adopted (Forbes, 1979a). Adopting most of the 5,000 or more native words already in use in the Americas would provide a rich multi-tribal vocabulary for a pan-Indian language.

This third approach possesses certain advantages which can perhaps offset some of the obvious disadvantages. First, people could learn Indian words gradually, adding them one by one to their English, Spanish, or other vocabu-

laries. Second, such a process would help to gradually revive many native words which have now declined in importance. Third, words which are now mispronounced can be restored to a more correct pronunciation (e.g., *charki* instead of "jerky," *uskwa* instead of "squaw," etc.). Finally, this approach provides an English- or Spanish-speaking person an opportunity to painlessly "Indianize" his or her speech without making the major commitment to learn an entire language.

There are many excellent terms of native origin ready for adoption by native people, such as: *milpa* (a farm or field), *yanakona* (a landless Indian), *kaboklo* (a tribeless Indian), *mazewal* or *masehual* (a member of the Indian masses or common people), *elote* (ear of corn), *zacate* (grass), *cacique* (a chief or spokesman), *sakima*, *sachem*, or *sagamore* (a chief), *powaw* (it is holy), *tlatoane* (spokesman), *temascalli* (sweathouse), *teocalli* (temple or "spirit-house"), and *tlatoles* (talks or conversations).

We are all aware of the problem of the *masehuals* (Indian masses) in relation to the *caciques* (leaders), we are aware of the presence of *yanakonans* (landless Indians and migrant workers), or *Gachupines* (Europeans), or urbanized or tribeless Indians (*kaboklos*), but we lack precise terms to sharpen our conceptions. Therefore, this third approach might be useful to us intellectually as well as psychologically.

Adoption of a new pan-Indian jargon would not represent a departure from native traditions. Many trade languages or jargons existed in the past, developed by adjacent native groups to deal with a similar communication problem.

All these approaches pose certain problems, primarily of "process." How do we go about developing an ideographic system or a pan-Indian language? By what criteria do we choose to learn Quechua, or some other existing language? The following options are available:

- Let things drift along and hope something will happen;
- Spread information about these ideas and hope people will show an interest in one or more of them;
- Organize a small group to develop one or more of these options and then hope it will be adopted;

- Convene a conference of the traditional religious and spiritual leaders to secure their advice (if agreement can be reached, follow whatever course of action seems best);
- Try to convince the "educated" Indian leadership of the wisdom of one or more of these options; or
- Develop an ideographic system or a pan-Indian language on a *tentative* basis, as an example, and then attempt to gain the approval or input of traditional leaders and others. Preferably, the group doing this would include some traditional elders.

Possibly several of these approaches can be combined, however, the last seems the most feasible. People will be more likely to understand the potentiality of an ideographic system of writing if examples of systems are available. Therefore, a group might decide to work on the idea first in a tentative way, and then follow with extensive interaction with traditional leaders.

It should not be surprising if educated native leadership has very little interest in any of these ideas. Although their views should be considered, ultimately it is the perspective of the traditional elders and *masehuals* (native masses) which will determine success or failure.

V. Problems of Numbers of Speakers and Mutual Intelligibility

Leaving the subject of inter-tribal, pan-Indian communication and returning to a discussion of particular, specific native languages, we return to the problem of mutual intelligibility.

The survival and practical use of a language depends, in great part, on how many people speak a language (as well as upon their degree of "stubborn" dedication). Many languages have totally disappeared from the face of the earth and others are in retreat today.

It is true that 500 or fewer people have been able to keep a dialect or language alive by speaking it among themselves in the home and community; but the pressures of formal education, migration to cities, television, and increasing English monolingualism are seriously threatening the survival of small groups.

Numbers are important to the survival of languages. Most of us are aware that our facility in, and motivation to learn

a language is directly related to our opportunities to use it. If we cannot use a language in our daily lives, we will seldom learn it. If we can get by without learning it, we usually won't make the effort. A language which is, therefore, spoken by only a few hundred people will be attractive only to people living in the immediate community. Its future is not very bright, since the speakers may be a minority even in the area where they reside (unless they are exceptionally strong psychologically, and really "hang together," in effect, forcing non-speakers to learn the language).

For full development, as great a number of speakers as possible must be obtained. This can be done in many cases by overthrowing the dominance of English and making knowledge of the native tongue an absolute necessity for survival or success in a particular geographical area. Unfortunately, this approach will lead to a direct clash with the English-speaking members of the tribe. Since most of the elite Indian leaders are English speakers and since they will receive the backing of the BIA, the overthrow of English, even if desired, is going to take some time on most reservations.

Nonetheless, if a native speaker uses his or her language at every possible opportunity, including situations where listeners are non- or partial speakers, the motivation necessary to encourage others to learn the language will be provided.

A second approach to increase the numbers of speakers of a language is to discover ways in which mutually intelligible or semi-intelligible dialects can be brought together at least for purposes of broadcasting or writing. This does not mean giving up one's own dialect, necessarily, but rather developing a commonly agreed upon way of writing which erases dialectal differences or a common broadcasting language which can be understood by all. For example, Potawatomi, Algonkin, Odawa, and Ojibwe are very closely related dialects of the same language. Menominee, Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo and also related, although somewhat more removed. If a common written and/or broadcast form could be developed for these dialects, it would greatly increase the likelihood of that language's survival.

How can this be accomplished? Let's look at the written form of a language first.

Many dialects differ from each other in only minor details, such as sound-shift. One of the differences, for example, between Lakota, Nakota, and Dakota (three Sioux dialects) is in the shift from L to N to D. This type of difference can easily be overcome at the written level by developing a single symbol to represent the sound which is L in Lakota, N in Nakota, and D in Dakota. A Lakota would read the symbol as L, a Nakota as N, and a Dakota as D.

A phonetic alphabet using English symbols will often emphasize the dialectal differences within a language. An alphabet or syllabary can be developed, however, which provides a common reading language which does not affect the oral version of the language. The result is that books and materials can be read equally well by all Sioux speakers, for example, regardless of the dialect they speak.

It will obviously be easier to produce one set of primers for 50,000 Sioux and Assiniboiné rather than having to produce four different sets, one for each dialect.

It seems quite probable, in theory at least, that one could develop a standard reading language for each of the following groups: Eskimo (all or most dialects), Sioux-Assiniboiné, Otchipwe-Odawa-Algonkin-Potawatamik, Osakiwuk-Muskwakiwuk-Kikapuak, Pima-Papago, Shoshone-Comanche, Northern Paiute-Bannock-Mono, Southern Paiute-Chemehuevi-Ute, Quechua-Maricopa, Kamia-Diegueno (all dialects), Iroquois-Wyandot (all dialects), Arapaho-Atsina (Gros Ventre), and Cree-Naskapi-Montagnais (all dialects). The above list is only an example of what might be possible. It might also be feasible, for example, to standardize Navajo-Apache and many other related dialects of languages at the reading level, but much remains to be done before we know what is really possible.

Here are some alternative approaches:

- Develop a standardized form of a language by compromising the differences between the dialects;
- Develop a standardized form by returning to the ancestral language from which the dialects are descended. This can, in theory at

least, be done by having a linguist help to reconstruct the ancestral language;

- Adopt one of the existing dialects for oral broadcasting. This can be done by picking the dialect having the most speakers or picking the dialect which is most easily understood by speakers from all of the dialects (that is, an intermediate dialect).

Naturally, all of these courses of action will involve great difficulty if speakers of related dialects refuse to agree to the selection of a common language for broadcast and other oral-recorded use. Inter-group jealousies may well prevent effective collaboration, although it is doubtful if expert native-speakers have ever had a chance to get together to openly discuss these issues. Perhaps English-speaking Indians are more jealous and protective of differences than are expert native-speakers.

Above all, we must not allow the way people have been split up on different reservations to determine the future of our languages.

We have to remember that many of the differences now existing between closely-related dialects developed from isolation and chance. There is nothing new about Indian peoples coming back together again and sharing their dialects. For example, in the 1700s and 1800s the Delaware, Shawnee, Miami, Ottawa, Mahikani, Minsi, Potawatomi, all Algonkian groups, and occasionally others (Kikapuak, Osakiwuk, Muskwakiwuk, and even some Otchipwe), lived and acted together in the Ohio-Indiana-Illinois region (as well as later in Missouri and Kansas). These people obviously communicated with each other. Some sources indicate that they used a common mode of communication, but which one is not known for certain. In any event, a great deal of dialectal interchange must have occurred. This can certainly be done again. Above all, we must not allow the way people have been split up on different reservations to determine the future of our languages.

VI. Approaches to Increasing Mutual Intelligibility

We have examined some of the ways in which greater mutual intelligibility at the reading and oral levels could be achieved. But how does one go about doing any of these things in actual practice?

It is quite obvious that the expert native-speakers are the only people who can make basic decisions about language. Thus, we must consider ways in which elders who are expert in a language can be brought together to consider the future of that language.

We will need to know just how closely related are the various dialects within a given language. We will also want to know which dialects are mutually intelligible. Does it make any difference whether a speaker is speaking at a slow, medium, or fast speed? Is any particular dialect "in-between" and, therefore, understandable by more people?

A first step, then, might be to bring together a group of expert speakers from a group of dialects or languages suspected of being fairly close to each other. For example, one could bring together speakers of Navajo, White Mountain Apache, San Carlos Apache, Mescalero Apache, Jicarilla Apache, Lipan Apache, and Kiowa Apache. Expert speakers (with more than one from each dialect) would record a number of sentences and paragraphs on a tape recorder in their own dialects. Later, others would have a chance, in private booths, to listen to the tapes and record a translation in their own dialects. It could then be judged if the dialects, or some of them, are intelligible to each other. Tapes could also be recorded at slow, medium, and fast speeds to see if this makes a difference.

Such a meeting might tell us that, at slow speed, Jicarilla can be understood best by all. Thus, we might wish to recommend that Jicarilla be used as a broadcast language in Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma to reach all Diné speakers. On the other hand, we might find that all of the dialects are mutually intelligible at a slow rate of speaking. In that case, we could recommend the use of any of the dialects but in a slow, carefully, enunciated manner. The possession of this knowledge would allow Navajo-Apache (Diné) people to produce broadcasts, films, and tapes designed for an audience of perhaps

125,000 instead of 5,000, 10,000, or 100,000. It should make it easier to persuade networks to broadcast in Navajo-Apache or to finance and plan for Navajo-Apache films and tapes.

Of course, one might find that while Navajo and White Mountain are close, and San Carlos and Mescalero are close, and Jicarilla, Lipan, and Kiowa Apache are close, the group as a whole is too divergent to allow for common broadcasting without taking steps towards standardization. The elders would certainly be the best people to decide whether such a step is wise or practical.

Bringing expert native-speakers together from related dialects also can have another valuable result. The elders and others together could decide upon the best system of writing to be used for all of their dialects (alphabet, syllabary, or ideographic system). Closely related dialects, such as the Navajo and Apache idioms, should ideally use the same system of writing because:

- the sounds and syllables should be the same, or very close;
- the roots or basic stems for words should usually be related; and
- a common system of writing will make it easier to learn and read each other's dialects.

It could be suggested that in the case of Navajos and Apaches it might also be wise to include Diné speakers from the Pacific Coast, Canada, and Alaska (Hupas, Chipewyans, Khutans, Sarsis, etc.) for the same reasons. It is indeed tragic now that Navajos, for example, are expected to learn English but have no (or little) opportunity for learning related Diné languages which would yield vital knowledge of overall Diné history. There should be many Navajos whose second, third, and fourth languages are, for example, Apache, Sarsi, and Hupa. English is not nearly as important for future Navajo scholars since so much that is written in English about Diné peoples is pure *hokum*. The real future resources for Navajo-Diné history can only be discovered by means of the native languages.

In any case, in bringing together elders and other expert speakers we may wish to keep two tasks clearly in mind: (1) the task of discovering just how mutually intelligible related dialects are; and (2) the task of selecting or developing a sys-

tem of writing. It may be that two separate work-groups will need to be convened as follows:

- A smaller work-group with experts from only those dialects highly likely to be mutually intelligible or nearly so. This group would concentrate essentially upon the oral uses of the dialects;
- A larger work-group including perhaps representatives from all of the dialects and languages which have the same set of sounds, a similar structure, and grammar. This group would be able to develop a writing system useful for languages which, although related, might not be mutually intelligible at the oral level.

Our hope for the future consists in the native-speaking people and in their becoming fully literate and productive in their own language.

The first group might, for example, include only Navajos and Apaches (or Shoshones, Comanches, and Northern Paiute-Bannocks). The second might also include other Diné groups (or Utes, Southern Paiutes, Hopis, Monos, and Owens Valley Paiutes).

We must keep several things in mind:

(1) The BIA has tried to divide us in order to better control us. Perhaps now we can return to the state of defining our own relations. (2) The work-groups of elders should meet for a considerable period of time (not just for a day or two). Members should have time to get to know each other, learn about each other's dialects, and accomplish whatever they want. (3) The work-group meetings should be conducted in the native languages. Non-native speakers should serve only as resource people and all presentations should be translated into the native tongue. The use of English is totally unnecessary in such meetings and, in any case, many experts will not be conversant with English. (4) The elders represented at the work-groups should include the best-loved, most-respected spiritual and moral leaders of the groups in order that what is produced

can be accepted by their people as coming out of their deepest traditions. So-called "educated," "credentialed," or politically-influential Indians are not necessary unless they also happen to be true leaders in the traditional sense.

Indian people who wish to address themselves to the future of native languages should perhaps keep in mind that we are engaged in a long-term struggle, a struggle which must be waged at the grass-roots level. Our hope for the future consists in the native-speaking people and in their becoming fully literate and productive in their own language. This cannot come about through the actions of tribal officeholders or school officials alone.

Experience has shown that changes initiated by the white-oriented leadership in an Indian community have usually failed (at least in the literacy area) because the changes did not have the endorsement of the elders and spiritual leaders and did not involve the masses. Successful projects can only be those which the masses and elders themselves can carry out without outside funding on a large scale, without official tribal support (if necessary), and without the use of formal schools.

Especially since the official tribal-bureaucratic structure on most reservations has been captured by the white colonial system, we must generally expect that meaningful Indian-oriented changes will have to take place in spite of, or at least independently of, that tribal structure.

Tribal officials may come and go, but the masses will determine our future.

It is not necessary that language changes be always made in a manner which involves a fight with a tribal council. Cooperation is certainly to be desired. On the other hand, we must bear in mind that bureaucrats and politicians quite often do not like to see the people carry out activities on an independent basis. Bureaucrats and professionals often justify their existence on the basis (usually unstated but nonetheless real) that the masses are incompetent. If the people become competent, then, of

course, bureaucrats or professionals may feel threatened in their positions. Thus, one may expect that many professional educators (whether Indian or white) and other officials will oppose native self-directed projects. They will want to be involved, will want to control, and will most likely corrupt any of the efforts we have been discussing.

The only true experts on native languages are the fluent speakers of those languages. The only true experts in the directions in which native societies should move are the spiritual and moral leaders who possess a firm grasp of basic values. Unfortunately, most tribal governments and tribal bureaucracies are controlled by those who are least qualified to deal with basic issues.

In any event, it is clear that programs will be successful in the long run only if they involve the masses and the elders. Tribal officials may come and go, but the masses will determine our future.

After the work-groups have completed their tasks, it will be necessary for each language community to develop its own self-operating method of implementation. This will be discussed later in more detail.

VII. Developing a Writing System

The people who develop a writing system will need to understand the different ways in which such a system can be put together. First, if we are going to base a system upon sounds (a phonetic system), we must keep in mind certain things. The sounds which linguists attempt to identify, which are the basis for the English and Spanish alphabets, are artificial units which we do not ordinarily pronounce except in syllables. For example, the word *Tsalagi* is supposedly composed of sounds *Ts-a-l-a-g-i*, but the way we actually pronounce the word is *Tsa-la-gi*, in three syllables. The vowels exist, in this word, only as the terminations of consonants. In the word *Tsalagi* there is no *ah* sound, although there is a *Tsa* and a *la*. Therefore, when we choose to write as the linguists do, or as the English and Spanish do, we are adopting a system which is artificial and probably difficult to learn.

When children or non-literate adults first begin to learn to read and write, they usually begin by learning the meaning of whatever symbols have been adopted. We might begin with the alphabet, for instance. Learners are taught

the sound represented by the symbol in the alphabet. (They memorize how to say their "ABC's," for example.) The trouble is that the symbols, when used in real words, have different sounds from when they are learned initially. Thus, learners are really required to learn two alphabets, the alphabet-in-the-abstract and the alphabet-as-really-used.

Of course, what actually takes place is that learners begin to recognize whole words (if they are going to read rapidly). Anyone who has to pause to sound out each symbol in English is doomed, since that task is slow and tedious and, in any case, does not add up to the whole word. *Ha-ah-teh* is not the same as "hat." We come to memorize or recognize that "hat" is a single symbol which stands, not for individual sounds, but for an object, a hat, and for a combined set of sounds which flow continuously together.

Not all people are automatically good teachers and many professional teachers do not know how to teach.

We could teach children how to read in English without ever teaching them their "ABC's" and, in fact, many teachers do. Children are taught to recognize whole words instead of artificial sound units. Of course, they may also be taught how to sound out new words on their own, but they soon realize that sounding out is only an intermediate step to pronouncing the word in its whole form. Why impose an extra burden on children and other learners? Why adopt an alphabet which is, in truth, not phonetic but portrays sounds which are seldom, if ever, actually used?

Thus far, most systems of writing developed for Indians use European alphabets as models. Thus, Indian children are forced to deal with artificial units which have little meaning by themselves. But this is not the only problem. Indian children also become confused because the English alphabet is perhaps the poorest in existence, with many different sounds represented in illogical ways (c representing both s and k, confusing vowels, etc.). Further, cumbersome

adaptations have been made, as in the Harrington-LaFarge Navajo alphabet, where a long vowel sound is represented by doubling the symbol for a short vowel (as in *aa* for *ah*). This means that in this latter alphabet not every letter is actually pronounced. A similar thing has been done in the white alphabet for Papago where *ah* is used for *a* as in *father* even when the *h* is silent.

In any case, the smallest unit which we can identify and represent by a symbol is the isolated, individual sound. If we choose such an approach, however, we have to keep in mind the above liabilities.

The next unit of sound which can be represented by a symbol is the syllable. A syllable is a sound-unit which is complete in itself and is actually pronounced in speech. It may be a consonant plus vowel (*ka*), a vowel by itself, a vowel plus consonant (*ik*), or a consonant-vowel-consonant (*mik*). The Cree, Canadian Eskimo, and Cherokee syllabaries (as well as Japanese and other systems) are based upon syllables.

In the word *Tsalagi*, cited above, the Roman (European) system requires that each letter be written out with separate symbols for *Ts*, *a*, *l*, *a*, *g*, and *i*. A syllabic approach would have symbols for *Tsa*, *la*, and *gi*, three symbols instead of six (actually, English has seven because it uses a *ts* to represent a sound which could be represented by a single symbol). Thus, it would seem likely that a syllabic approach would be easier to learn, easier to write, and more realistic in terms of actually representing sounds as they are pronounced. It is more interesting that widespread literacy among Indians in North America has usually occurred with syllabic systems of writing (Forbes, 1979b).

The next unit which can be represented by symbols consists in whole words (as with X standing for *Christ*, + for *plus*, = for *equals*, X for *crossing*, \$ for *dollar*, ¢ for *cents*, " for *inches*, and ' for *feet*). This is probably a useful, rapid approach to reading and writing except that the number of words in any language is much, much greater than the number of sounds or syllables. Thus, such a system would require the memorization of many symbols, perhaps 5,000 or more for the advanced reader. Of course, many symbols could be related to each other as an aid to memorization.

While such a system might seem cumbersome, it should be kept in mind that English readers end up with basically such a system since, as pointed out above, people tend to recognize and memorize whole words. Thus, we recognize "look," "luck," "leek," "leak," "lick," "lack," "lake," "like," and "lock," as whole words. We do not spell them out. And perhaps that is why the archaic system of spelling in English has persisted, because we need the silent *a* in "leak" to help us identify the latter as a symbol distinct from "leek." If English were truly phonetic, we would tend to drop silent letters such as the *e* in "lime." But, since English is actually used in a whole-word form, we need the entire configuration for quick recognition. In other words, "like" is really almost an ideographic symbol, albeit one which is partly based upon sounds. A still better example is "know" and "no."

In any case, English-speaking readers are required to memorize thousands of whole-word symbols for rapid reading and writing. Thus, we know that it can be done and perhaps more efficiently. Sounds can be abandoned altogether and one can go entirely to an ideographic system where symbols relate solely to words, ideas, or phrases. Such an approach is already used in English (for example RXR for *railroad crossing*;

! for *exclamation*;  for *optometrist's office*; and ¶ for *new paragraph*. Shorthand is based upon a similar approach, in part, and works quite well. Native American picture-writing was always of this kind. As pointed out earlier, an ideographic approach has the distinct advantage of completely overcoming dialectical and language differences. On the other hand, these considerations must be kept in mind:

- Many symbols must be memorized;
- Developing typewriters would be very difficult (they would resemble old-fashioned linotype machines or computers);
- Certain words, such as personal names and place-names, might have to be written out phonetically. (We could not possibly memorize symbols for all of the personal and place-names possible.);
- Rapid writing would be difficult until the symbols become abstracted

enough for easy writing (for example, it takes just about as long to write  as it does to write *book*. On the other hand, one might write  or  for *book*, speeding up the time involved);

- A good ideographic system should include as many labor-saving elements as possible, such as a simple symbol representing whole phrases ( = *sunrise or early in the morning*;  = *midmorning*;  = *noon or mid-day*;  = *sunset, or in the evening*);
- An ideographic system should not use any of the symbols now used in Cree, Eskimo, Cherokee, or English alphabets, unless used with the same meaning, since there is no reason to add to the burdens of learners (on the other hand, it would be well to make use of already known symbols such as ! and RXR whenever possible).

To summarize, native people have many choices in terms of writing systems: the Roman-European type system (using symbols for the so-called individual sounds); the syllabic approach; the whole-word approach; and the true ideographic system.

It is quite possible that the written native language can become a strong form of protest against colonialism.

Finally, it should be borne in mind that even if one uses the Roman-European type system, one does not have to use Roman letters. The Arabic, Hebrew, Greek, Russian, Hindi, and many other alphabets are ultimately derived from the same ancient Middle Eastern alphabets as is the Roman, but all have diverged considerably. Other systems of symbols could be developed, related to a particular language.

Above all, we need to develop the best possible systems for our peoples. We do not need to fool around with second-class, inferior systems just because they are already in use. We must always keep

in mind that the goal in choosing a system is to make it so logical that people can learn it on their own.

VIII. Implementation

Suppose that a group of Indian people, elders and other expert speakers, have agreed upon a writing system. What comes next? Basically, a means must be developed to help the people rapidly learn the system.

Let us first suppose that a little money is available and that a team can be put together to help (such as a team of native-speakers working with a Native American college such as D-Q University). The group or team will need to consider two major areas: teacher training and the development of materials.

Teacher training: By teacher training we do not mean primarily the training of school teachers, but rather grass-roots Indian teachers. These teachers can be religious leaders, housewives, young people, nurses, midwives, or any other motivated persons. They need no skills except a strong desire to help their people and an ability to work with others.

A system must be set up where the team trains a group of initial teachers. These teachers, in turn, will teach other teachers, and so on, until every household or local area has at least one active teacher.

What do these teachers need to learn? The members of the first group needs to learn the writing system well before they can begin teaching. They also will need to know how to use whatever materials are developed and how to develop their own. They will also need to share ideas on training others to be teachers.

The second group, and those that follow, will not necessarily need to know the entire writing system to become teachers. They can, each day, teach someone else what they themselves have learned that same day.

The objective should be "each one teach one." A situation should be created where the entire population is learning how to read and write in homes, community centers, out-of-doors, etc. We are talking about a mass literacy movement which is also a liberation movement because once the people learn that they do not need white-controlled institutions for education, they can go on to do many other things.

The first group of teachers will have to be deeply committed so that they can communicate both knowledge and enthusiasm to others.

What will these first teachers have to know, aside from the language and how to write it? Not all people are automatically good teachers and many professional teachers do not know how to teach. There is no way to say in advance what a teacher for a particular language should know. One could suggest that he or she should know how to make and use flash cards, for example. However, such things might not be best for the people in question.

Perhaps the best suggestion that can be made is that the first group of teachers should put their heads together and try to pool their own insights, perhaps with the help of the team and other native speakers.

Development of materials: Basically, one needs only something to write on and something to write with in order to learn how to be literate in one's own language. There is no reason whatsoever why a mass literacy project has to wait for the development of primers, textbooks, films, or slides. One can write with charcoal, on wrapping paper, paper bags, or on the walls of rest area shelters or alien-owned trading posts.

On the other hand, some materials would be helpful and perhaps add an extra incentive for learning. Teaching tools can be mimeographed, dittoed, offset, or produced on slides, if funds are available.

Let's look at some possible materials and techniques:

- **Simple flash cards:** Teachers can make their own flash cards out of 5 x 8 or 4 x 5 white filing cards, out of pieces of cardboard, or cut-up sheets of paper. One side of the card might have a picture or an object, plant, or animal, while the other side has the name written in the Indian language. Teachers can make these up as they go along, perhaps getting their pupils to produce drawings of the correct name on the opposite side of the card. Learners can also make up their own card-sets to carry with them to practice with and to teach others.
- **Familiar objects:** Teachers can always use household objects, animals, and plants to teach the

language. Little signs can be made to use with the items being learned. Teachers could put together a small portable collection of such objects to take around, in order to teach the basis of the written language.

- **Newspapers:** Newspaper-like materials can be prepared in a mimeographed, dittoed, or printed form. These newspapers can deal with current news or familiar stories. They should look something like comic strips since there will be pictures and then Indian writing relating to each picture. These newspapers should be designed so that adults or older youth can learn to read without a teacher, that is, each picture should be self-explanatory. No English should be used and no writing except in the Indian alphabet adopted by the people.
- **Booklets:** Booklets, including beginning primers, can be prepared. They will be very much like the newspapers (above) except that they will be in booklet form.
- **Slides:** Photographic slides of pictures and Indian writing can be prepared if appropriate. The principle is the same as that of flash cards, except that sound can be recorded on tape if desired.
- **Films:** Films can be prepared which will expose the learner to the written language in conjunction with telling (or acting out) a traditional story or some other theme of interest. The film should hold the audience's attention and include close-ups of the written story in between action sequences.

These are only ideas. Above all, a people should adapt these ideas to their own cultural values (Forbes and Adams, 1976).

All initial materials should be useful for people who do not read and write now and do not speak English. The first objective should be to help all monolingual native speakers become literate in their own language.

Bilingual persons and English speakers can learn with the same materials. They will not require any separate books which use the English language. They can immediately learn in the native tongue.

Teachers will perhaps also want to keep in mind that people are probably motivated to read and write in direct proportion to their having opportunities to use their new ability. This means that maximum efforts must be made to have the written native language used everywhere possible as long as the use is culturally acceptable.

For example, learners in one community might issue a little newsletter to be circulated or letters might be written to other villages or to relatives. If the tribal council is so disposed, all signs on a reservation can be written in the native language. Individual families can also put up home-made signs in front of their houses. If the tribal government refuses to recognize the native language, people can put up signs around the reservations themselves. It is quite possible that the written native language can become a strong form of protest against colonialism.

Teachers should be prepared to expect hostility and resistance from BIA employees, school teachers, and perhaps from tribal officials for reasons given earlier. When the people seize control of their own language, the colonial system is threatened. Retaliation and resistance can be expected. It may be mild and passive or it may be severe. Ultimately, however, the native language will win out because (1) it is unconstitutional to interfere with freedom of speech, (2) the bulk of the people will support the movement, and (3) it will be impossible to suppress if it is truly grass-roots.

Finally, it should be possible in some areas to secure the cooperation of school teachers, tribal councils, and others. The opportunity to work with the tribe and the formal schools should not be by-passed where available. On the other hand, the native language literacy program should be always primarily a person-to-person grass-roots movement. If it is not, it will never reach the masses and it will not serve as a movement for psychological liberation.

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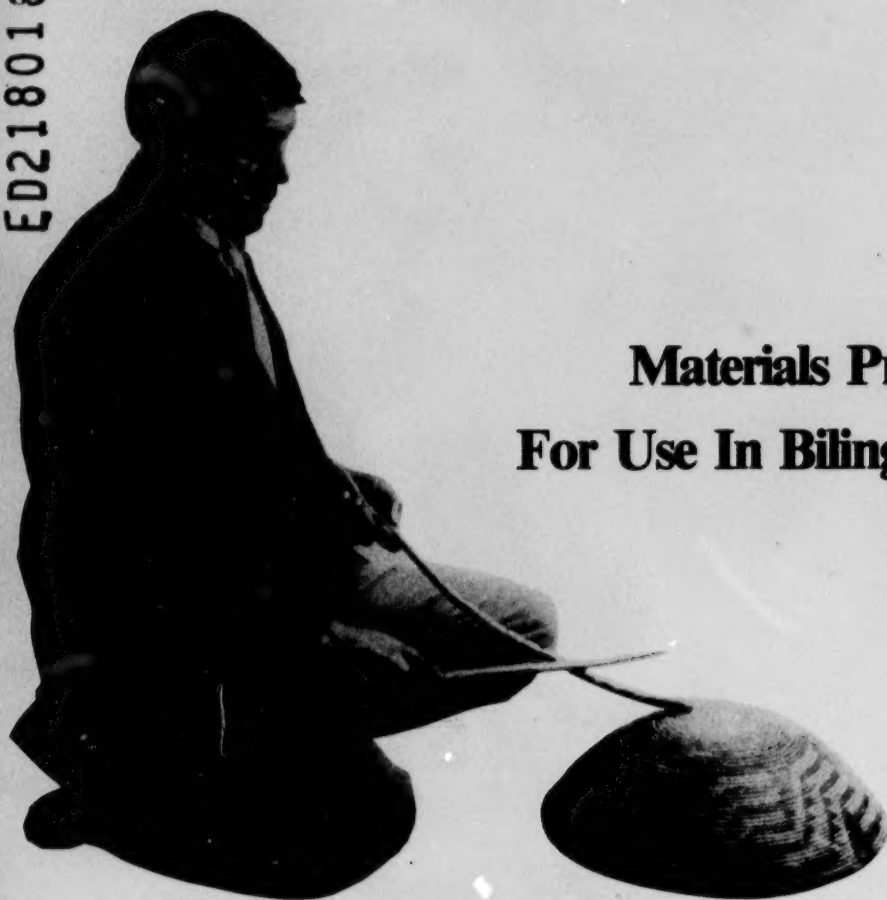
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ED218018



Materials Preparation For Use In Bilingual Programs

by Marie-Louise Liebe-Harkort

The increase of bilingual programs over the past years may be a visible sign of what Hockett has termed a "reduction of the heat under the American melting pot" (Lambert, 1967, p. 108). Such programs are far from uniform, since there is no consensus regarding the definitions or goals of bilingual education. The questions involved are difficult, since language cannot be separated from content; if "Dick and Jane" speak Navajo, a program using such materials could be viewed as a bilingual-monocultural program (Serdyuchenko, 1965).

This paper was reprinted from *Journal of American Indian Education*, XX, No. 1 (October, 1980), 10-15.

The situation of the children for whom a program is designed *must* be the determining factor in the conception and production of that program's materials. In this article, materials production for an experimental course for teaching White Mountain Apache literacy will be described.*

The White Mountain Apache Tribe on the Fort Apache Reservation in Arizona has a tribal enrollment of approximately 8,000 members.

*In connection with field work made possible by a grant from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (Wi 154/10), the author was able to be present in Whiteriver, Arizona, during the summer of 1978. The White Mountain Apache Tribe made it possible for me to participate in the development of the materials.

RC 613 383

For many children, first contact with the English language occurs in Head Start and day care programs. Although there are not yet any statistics available, those connected with the Head Start program feel there may have been a slight increase in children's knowledge of English over the past years. In 1977-1978, 137 children were enrolled in Head Start. A survey done in 1977 indicated that 74 percent of the 928 school children in the elementary grades do not use English as their primary language. Thus, the great majority of children are forced to learn to read and write a language they seldom use.

This situation led the tribe to develop a bilingual/bicultural program. The Tribal Council approved an orthography based on the letters of the English alphabet. Only the letters $\mathfrak{z}$ (used also in digraphs: $\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{z}$ and $\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{i}$), $\mathfrak{l}$ for the glottal stop, and $\mathfrak{v}$ to signal the nasalization of vowels have been added.

Advantages of Native Language

There are many reasons for children to learn to read and write their native language before being taught to read and write English. Many of the problems children encounter in school are probably caused by having instruction in their weaker language (Macnamara, 1967). Even from the standpoint of learning to read and write, it could well be advantageous to begin with White Mountain Apache. Since the writing system is, to a large degree, phonemic, it is easier to learn than English orthography. If the children sound out a word, and if they sound it out correctly, they will recognize and understand it.

Even if children can pronounce many words they read in English, they may still not know or understand them. A study of word counts in English primers made many of the problems clear (Rojas, 1946). "...[F]rom the word 'look' [in the Curriculum Foundation Series-MLLH] a total of 25 different vocabulary items, with occurrences of each varying from 1 to 175, is reached" (Rojas, 1946, p. 208). When Sapir (1970) spoke of the illusions people have about the nature of their own languages and pointed to the pseudo-simplicity of English, he was referring to this problem.

Assuming that children comprehend the words they read in an English primer, it is still quite possible that they have not understood their meaning. The English primer's cultural content may be so different from anything yet experienced that they are not able to make sense out of what they read. This point is well made with regard to Navajo children in "Sally, Dick and Jane at Lukachukai" (Evvard and Mitchell, 1966), and much said therein applies to White Mountain Apache children. Not only are these children unfamiliar with big city life (street lights, sidewalks, skyscrapers, etc.), but they also know little or nothing about the values and attitudes on which the materials have been more or less unconsciously based (Roehler, 1970).

If the materials developed for a bilingual program are to be truly suitable for the children, the direction and decisions of the language's native speakers are absolutely necessary. The linguist is merely the technician who contributes the form (Ives and Ives, 1970; Gudschinsky, 1976).

The White Mountain Apache Tribe instituted a Language Committee to oversee and direct the development of materials, which were then to be tested in an experimental course during the summer of 1978. The Johnson-O'Malley program funded a six-week summer school, which was conducted in the elementary school in Whiteriver. It was decided that the instruction should be at the sixth grade level. The prepared materials were based on the assumption that the White Mountain Apache speakers using them were already literate in English.

Factors Used for the Course

Frequency was one factor in deciding the order for introducing graphemes and digraphs. Since the material was being prepared for those literate in English, the equivalence or similarity of the sounds represented was also taken into account. Those graphemes representing the same sound in both languages were introduced first. It was necessary to alter the order arrived at in this fashion in the case of the vowels *i*, *ii*, *e*, and *ee*, since it was feared that the children might confuse them on the basis of their knowledge of English orthography. Only *i* and *ii* were intro-

duced in the first 15 lessons. It was assumed that the two consonants not used in English, $\mathfrak{z}$ and $\mathfrak{l}$, would present little difficulty, and they were introduced at an early stage.

The graphemes were immediately used in words after their introduction. No drills with meaningless syllables were used, contrary to common practice (Gudschinsky, 1976, 1967). The main reason for this was that it was not necessary to teach reading as a skill, but rather to trigger a transfer of reading habits from one language to another. Since these habits were to be developed in White Mountain Apache, it could have been confusing for the children to read meaningless syllables, perhaps reading them as English.

Emphasis was placed on sounding out the words. New words were introduced in this fashion and many of the exercises were directed towards developing this ability. This is particularly important for two reasons. First, since White Mountain Apache is only now becoming a written language, no standard has yet been established. Words are written as spoken; and, due to dialect and regional differences, the same word is often spoken differently. Until the Language Committee has standardized the written forms, it is necessary that the same word be recognizable in different forms. A second reason for this procedure is that the language in question abounds in verb forms, some differing from others (with dissimilar meanings), for example, by only the length of one vowel.

In no case was a translation given. The goal of the materials was to teach reading and writing in White Mountain Apache; translations were not viewed as furthering this aim. Since there is no equivalent of the infinitive form in the language, the usage of introducing the third person singular was followed.

Several factors influenced the choice of vocabulary items in the materials. Attempts were made to use words that are part of the basic vocabulary, inasmuch as these items tend to have the advantage of being short. In particular, emphasis was placed on body parts and names of plants and animals; this is a reflection of the concern that the children were no longer learning or were confusing these basic items.

Although Gudschinsky (1967) opposes

the introduction of unknown words in primers, the target group in this case justified such a procedure. Furthermore, the teacher who used White Mountain Apache throughout told the children a great deal about the characteristics and uses of the objects that were new to them; and in so doing was able to imprint the object and the new word. This was part of an attempt to develop a style of working with the children closer to the socialization they had received, rather than teaching the children a part of their own culture with the methods of a foreign one (Philips, 1972; Polacca, 1962).

Exercises Varied and Repeated

Many and varied exercises were incorporated into the materials. Recognition and production are two steps in the learning process, but the first must be developed before the second can be successful. For this reason, a great deal of repetition in reading and word use preceded exercises that called for production. The exercises were considerably long, the intention being to have enough material for those children who work quickly, allowing others to work more slowly or in groups. By the time the first children were finished with all the material in one exercise, the whole group, together with the teacher, would proceed to the next item. The amount of repetition was sufficient, even for the students who finished only half of the exercise.

The prepared materials' basic plan was to have a set of progressing lessons and accompanying exercises. This material was supplemented with easily read booklets introduced at the various stages. Each lesson constituted a unit. As new materials are produced, they can be used at the teacher's discretion any time after presentation of the necessary vocabulary.

Though there was considerable variation, the general lesson plan was:

1. Review of new words presented in the previous lesson
2. Exercise (or sound test)
3. New words using graphemes or digraphs already introduced
4. Exercises
5. New graphemes or digraphs
6. Exercises

All graphemes and digraphs used in White Mountain Apache orthography were presented in 17 lessons.

Main Lessons

1. A list of review words from the previous lesson was read and discussed with the students. The list proved valuable to them while they were working on the various exercises, and they often referred to it.

2. There were a variety of exercises on recognizing how the language's sounds are transferred into writing. The first was a list of word pairs or groups. The teacher would read one of them and the students were to mark the word he/she said. Many of these word groups were based on minimal pairs [gad/gah (cedar tree/rabbit)] or near minimal pairs [gad/k'ad (cedar tree/soon)]. This method was preferred to dictation, since it required only recognition, not production.

Other sound-related exercises included those in which either the first or the last graphemes or digraphs were to be put in the appropriate blanks, with pictures providing the key to the word required. A variation on this provided a picture, next to which were the number of blanks required to write the word. Under this were three words, and the word that ended the same way as the word indicated by the picture was to be underlined. (For example, next to the picture of a bear were five blanks for the word *shash*.) Under this were the three words *gish* (cane), *hosh* (cactus), and *hi'ash* (two beings are walking along). *Hi'ash* was to be underlined.

3. In the first lessons, new words using graphemes and digraphs with which the children were already familiar were introduced with a picture and the accompanying word, which was then used in one or two sentences.

4. In each lesson, various kinds of exercises were used. The children were free to work on them alone or in groups as they chose. These included:

- (a) *Crossword puzzles*—for example, to impress the idea of the glottal stop served as a letter filling one box of the puzzle.
- (b) *Word search games*—a box like a crossword puzzle filled with letters, wherein the words listed above the box were to be found and circled.
- (c) *Word-picture matching*—a page having perhaps six words and five pictures, whereby a line was

to be drawn from the word to the corresponding picture.

- (d) *Fill-in-the-blanks*—done in two forms, either with the pictures or with the words at the top of the page; these were to be written in the appropriate sentences.
- (e) *True or false sentences*—Sentences were given with two similar sounding words in one position. The children were to choose the appropriate word. For example:

Bul'cho ^{bi'ra} di'hi'hi' (The wolf's forehead ^{is} black.)
bi'ra ^{leaves} ^{are}

Sentences were written so that there were no spaces between the words and they were to be rewritten with the proper spaces. Sentences were written with spaces between each syllable and they were to be rewritten leaving spaces only between the words.

- (f) *Vocabulary grouping*—for example, body parts or plant names.
- (g) *Scrambled letters*—several words were given, but written incorrectly. The children were to figure out which word used those letters and write it next to the scrambled form. The first letters of the words, when correctly written and read down the page, spelled another word or a sentence. (For example, *kina* was to be unscrambled to read *naki* (two), and the letter *n* was used in a sentence together with the other first letters.)

5. The new graphemes or digraphs were introduced with pictures and several simple sentences, and minimal pairs or near minimal pairs were contrasted [for example, *tsaʔ*/*ts'aaʔ* (needle/cradleboard)].

6. One or more of the exercises described in number 4 above were used to conclude the lesson.

In addition to the lessons, other materials were prepared, one of which was a calendar with interchangeable dates. The numbers were written in Apache and could be placed as necessary for each month.

Games were also prepared; for example, a memory game in which half the cards had pictures of objects and the other half with the names written out

in White Mountain Apache. The cards were placed face down on the table; and the children were allowed to turn over two cards each time they had their turn and to keep them if they formed a pair.

A picture dictionary was made with the words of the first 14 lessons. This was introduced together with a game similar to Scrabble, and the dictionary was helpful to them in playing the game. Further games include one like Word Lotto (Townsend, 1952).

Encouraging Results in Short Time

Despite the problems inherent to a course held during the summer and of short duration, the results of this experimental course were encouraging. The children were excited over the prospect of learning to read and write their own language. Materials were prepared in the school, and the children came by to talk to those working on the materials and to have lessons they had missed repeated. Often, they continued playing some of the games after the formal class period had ended.

The children had no difficulty comprehending that their own language could be written and showed in many ways that they felt what they had learned was useful. Long after the end of summer school, they could be heard spelling words for each other or for non-Apaches in play situations.

There are many advantages to achieving primary literacy in the native language. Those who maintain that literacy in two languages places a great burden on the children have not substantiated this view. Further, given that the children are already bilingual or are becoming so, the added step of becoming literate in the language they use most frequently and know best could be of great value. The majority of people who become literate do so in their native tongue with materials prepared for them and geared to their command of the language. It would help White Mountain Apache children to know what reading is before they attempt it in a foreign language.

Finally, there are obvious advantages to be gained from teaching children to be proud of and careful in the use of their language. Grammar had been taught in schools for as long as schools have existed. People who have a deep

awareness of their own language and who take it seriously tend to transfer this understanding to other languages they learn. In this manner, the advantages of truly bilingual programs can be reflected both in the children's use of their native language and in their use of English.

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Pow Wow
Canado, AZ 1979
Photographer: Kenji Kawano

FEATURE ARTICLE

Cultural Aspects that Affect the Indian Student in Public Schools

By Alice Paul

How persons greet each other and what they verbalize can be of cultural significance. The cultural diversity can extend in more than a difference in sound of the language itself. With my greeting in Papago, I am expressing a concern for your well being and why I have come, rather than a passing, "Hello, how are you?"

As background and a reflection of my topic, I chose the following quote attributed to the late John F. Kennedy:

For a subject worked and reworked so often in novels, motion pictures and television, American Indians remain probably the least understood and the most misunderstood Americans of us all.

If we as teachers are committed to educating all children, then we must build an awareness for ourselves of who these children are and where they come from. They have not come to school from a vacuum; their cultural heritage has already influenced their values, ideals, aspirations, anxieties, taboos, and mores. Their fundamental habits of being have been structured by the adults they come from and their way of life.

All of us at some point must make adjustments, but in the process we can also develop conflicts. I want to share a story written by Lee Salisbury in the *Journal of American Indian Education* that reflects such a conflict in a situation in which an Alaska Indian child attempts to adjust to school. The conflict expressed involves not only a child's self-concept, but also his concept of family and community:

By the time the native child reaches the age of seven, his cultural and language patterns have been set and his parents are required by law to send him to school. Until this time he is likely to speak only his own local dia-

lect of Indian, Aleut, or Eskimo, or if his parents have had some formal schooling he may speak a kind of halting English.

He now enters a completely foreign setting—the western classroom situation. His teacher is likely to be a Caucasian who knows little or nothing about his cultural background. He is taught to read the Dick and Jane series. Many things confuse him: Dick and Jane are two *gussuk* (Eskimo term for white person) who play together. Yet he knows that boys and girls do not play together and do not share toys. They have a dog named Spot who comes indoors and does not work. They have a father who leaves for some mysterious place called "office" each day and never brings any food home with him. He drives a machine called an automobile on a hard covered road called a street which has a policeman on each corner. These policemen always smile, wear funny clothing and spend their time helping children to cross the street. Why do these children need this help? Dick and Jane's mother spends a lot of time in the kitchen cooking a strange food called "cookies" on a stove which has no flame in it. But the most bewildering part is yet to come. One day they drive out to the country which is a place where Dick and Jane's grandparents are kept. They do not live with the family and they are so glad to see Dick and Jane that one is certain that they have been ostracized from the rest of the family for some terrible reason. The old people live on something called a "farm," which is a place where many strange animals are kept—a peculiar beast called a "cow," some odd looking birds called "chickens" and a "horse" which looks like a deformed moose. And so on. For the next twelve years the process goes on. The native child continues to learn this new language which is of no earthly use to him at home and which seems completely unrelated to the world of sky, birds, snow, ice and tundra which he sees around him. (pp. 4-5)

This story typifies only one situation that demonstrates the problem of adjustment for Indian children with a middle-class "Anglo-oriented" course of study.

As I have examined literature relating to what is considered *cultural conflict* the assumption of many authors is that the situation is one-sided, a problem on the part of an individual or a group who does not fit into a particular structure, in this case, the education system. I feel strongly that the conflict involves not only those of us trying to make the adjustments, but also all the adults and peers with which we must deal. The solution to the problem must stem from a joint effort in order for it to be productive and meaningful for all concerned.

Indian people as tribal groups are too diverse for me to discuss them exhaustively, but there are some basic shared concerns that can be considered.

First of all, most of you, through direct or indirect experience, have some preconceived notion of what Indians are like. The descriptive terminology usually includes such words as "shy," "quiet," "retiring," "stoic," "passive," and "lazy." To words such as these, you add your own experiences of what they mean.

Let's look at some basic values I feel are shared by most Indian people:

1. The notion that humans must maintain a balance with nature, a closeness to the land or Mother Earth who provides for her children.
2. The notion that the human being as a person, a contributor with feelings, strengths and weaknesses has value, that life is a gift which must be fulfilled, that there is a place for the old as well as the young.
3. The extended family, whether it be lineage passed through the mother or father, is regarded very highly.
4. Language, as a vehicle through which customs and cultural values are passed on.

Some of you at this point are probably thinking, "That's all well and good, and

This paper appeared in *The Native American Speaks* (1973), 10-12. New Mexico State Department of Education, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

I don't disagree with those things, but I'm thinking about the child I'm trying to teach, and do not seem to be getting to!" I don't have to tell you how difficult it can be to reach children who do not respond to your usual techniques. But let us look at the larger society and why conflicts develop:

1. Time is of great importance to mainstream society—rush, rush, rush, then wait. Should you ever live on a reservation, your whole attitude would change. It takes a long time just to get some place. There is time to enjoy people, nature, and even time for yourself. Maybe, then, you would understand the Indian point of view that TIME is always with us. The concern is with the here and now and with an appreciation for it.
2. The major society puts a great emphasis on competition. This is a difficult concept for Indians because they have only been able to survive as a group. Any excellence is related to contribution to the group, not to the individual. To excel for fame is looked down upon.
3. Orientation to the future is also difficult and relates to the emphasis on time as the here and now. It is also a direct consequence of the economic situation. If you had food only for today, what would you do?
4. Anglo society has a great urgency for talk. If I stopped talking, someone would start saying something to someone nearby. What is being said isn't always the important thing, but that someone is saying something. I think this is why some people think Indians are "shy," whereas in reality, Indians are just quiet people who can go for long periods without having to verbalize. There is no urgency for talk or to become uncomfortable if it doesn't happen.

Indian children, like all other children, come to you with their own particular and very meaningful experiences. Their family organization may be different. Child-rearing practices in a family can be quite opposed to the school's. Discipline, training, responsibilities, and family relationships all affect how children relate to school and, especially, to the teacher. For instance, if a child does not look at you when you speak, maybe this is a way of showing respect. How many of you have demanded of an

Indian child, "Look at me when I speak to you!"

Children who come from adult-centered homes rather than child-centered homes do not question, but do as they are told. Question-asking is a skill that many of us were never taught, but which we are expected to have and to use many times during the course of any day.

The subject of question-asking skills leads us into the whole area of language. English, for the Indian student, in many cases must be learned as a second language, and second language learning poses its own special problems.

Many of the Indian languages neither have the same sounds, nor the sounds that exist in the English language. Many languages have specific words for particular members, colors, or situations. Some have no plurals for given words, but new words entirely. These are but a few of the considerations of which a teacher must be aware.

Another important consideration in relation to learning a new language is that children must learn to talk before being expected to read and write. That is how all of you learned your first language. Our first language was modeled for us by the adults around us. We were encouraged in our attempts to make meaningful sounds that turned into words before we were expected to speak in full sentences, or even thought about the expectation of reading and writing.

The use of idioms alone can be very confusing to one who is not familiar with English. For instance: "turn the tables," "you're pulling my leg," "sheets of rain," or "raining cats and dogs." Words with multiple meanings such as "little," "trunk," and "bar" can also be very confusing.

This is no easy task for any teacher. According to *An Even Chance*, a report on federal funds for Indian children in public school districts, "Today, two thirds of all American Indian children attend public schools" (p.1).

As a teacher in the educational system, what can you do? First, you must discourage stereotypical attitudes about Indians; all Indians do not have the same language, family organization, life style, or religious ceremonies. We are not all running around under blankets. We cannot be dumped in one basket and studied together.

Indians are proud of being Papago, Navajo, or Apache, that is, of their tribal membership, rather than of being "Indian" as such.

Become aware of Indian contributions to history, come to appreciate the pride and dignity of the Indian heritage.

Be a person, not always the teacher with all the answers. Build an awareness of the children you teach, rather than the materials you push.

Learn something about second language teaching and the language your children have learned as a first language.

If you have Indians in your class, that is where your beginning resources are. Learn from your students.

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Language As Ideology: The American Indian Case

by Frances Svensson

"Grammarians are often harbingers of revolution." This statement clearly points to the critical role of language in the definition of national consciousness, which often precedes revolutionary mobilization (Deutsch, 1961; 1966). As communities become self-conscious about their ethnic identity and pre-occupied with delineating their group boundaries from those of others, the role of their native languages frequently assumes a hitherto unprecedented importance. What was once taken for granted as a natural fact of life—the existence of a particular linguistic idiom differing either subtly or vastly from all others—suddenly becomes a unique, identifying hallmark of the community's existence. At the moment when the use of language becomes self-conscious, it becomes an element of ideology. When that self-consciousness is compounded by political, economic, and social overtones of "oppression"—such as occur, for example, in colonial situations—then language serves, often along with race, as a major determinant of the boundaries between groups and therefore of who gets what, where, when, and how. Language and race may then become interchangeable and explosively political in their implications.

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Language, in other words, while ordinarily merely seen as a part of ethnic identity, may become a critical catalyst in the emergence of ethnic ideology. Identity, in this sense, refers primarily to one's emotional stance within or apart from a group, while ideology refers to one's affective image of the qualities of one's own and other groups (Shibutani and Kwan, 1965; Glaser, 1958). The content of language is what embodies these qualities. Thus, at this point, language can no longer be taken for granted as an indifferent tool of communication; it becomes a tool of self-awareness and community identification and a vehicle for the more or less conscious re-examination of tradition and linguistic roots. It is called upon to fulfill new functions, sometimes adaptive *vis-à-vis* other cultures, sometimes adversary, usually both. This process extends not only to the borrowing of linguistic terms or the modification of usages, operations of secondary importance, politically speaking. Rather, language comes to carry with it the symbolic force of ethnic identity itself; it comes to signify a mobilizational force exceeding even that of race, for it permits the organization even of those who are of mixed racial descent but of relatively "pure" (monolingual) cultural identity or who aspire to the same. In the political interactions of colonized (politically suppressed) peoples with

their politically (and/or economically) dominant neighbors, there lie many clues to the validity of this principle; for example, in the suppression of minority linguistic groups, the enforced or artificially stimulated substitution of one language for another, the control of education (and hence of linguistic continuity) by the dominant group, etc. In this context, the importance of language to the subject community's identity is apparent to all concerned, whatever the chances of resistance to the pattern of linguistic—and therefore ultimately cultural and political—resistance. If the subject group retains the viability to mobilize for resistance at this point, language stands out as a key point of attack on the trend toward ethnic extinction. Thus does the grammarian, broadly conceived, emerge as the existential catalyst of the revolution. And language becomes ideology.

Ideology

The functions of ideology are "to simplify ideas, to establish a claim to truth, and to demand a commitment to a commitment to action" (Bell, 1962, p. 401). Language can act as ideology in this sense in two possible ways: (1) as a major source and embodiment of a group's world view, sanctioning certain forms of behavior and interpretation; and (2) as a symbol of group identity, virtually commanding a group action. This latter function of ideology is all too often neglected by writers on



Zuni Girl
Zuni, NM 1976
Photographer: Kenji Kawano

the topic of ideology, at high cost in theoretical adequacy. When language comes to stand for group identity, to express ethnicity in its purest form, to act as the core of a nativistic revival of tradition, to serve as a primary barrier against the blurring of identifying lines, then language has come to *be* an ideology. Its substantive content (any particular directive to action or perception inherent in the linguistic structure itself) becomes a secondary concern at best, and perhaps even irrelevant. It is the idea of linguistic uniqueness that becomes paramount, a socially binding force of great potency. This may be true even when the original Native language is no longer widely spoken, when many adherents to the nationalistic cause must be attracted by the symbol of language rather than by its application, or when the ideology must mobilize large numbers of people sharing a status of linguistic and cultural (and perhaps racial) minority, but do not share the same specific language or culture. This is precisely the case with the American Indian communities of North America. The historical development of the politically, socially, economically, and racially scattered and factionalized Indian communities has led to a situation in which the development of such a symbolic ideology of broad appeal is an absolutely necessary first step in the emergence of a substantive ideology. How this has,

in fact, occurred is the subject of this paper.

This model of language as ideology is, as are all models, a simplification of complex realities. The case of American Indians eloquently supports this model, but of course departs from it on occasion. Indeed, the situations throughout history in which language and ethnic identity have played a crucial role in the emergence of a political program are so numerous and diverse that generalizations are inevitably risky. However, the existence of an American Indian case, which is now beginning to be seen in a new light, may itself constitute a novel suggestion to many observers of the contemporary linguistic and political scene.

Language is coming to play an increasingly important role in the mobilization of American Indians around the twin goals of political self-determination and cultural autonomy. Realistic or not in the eyes of the world at large, these goals constitute the core of a re-emergence of Indian presence in American society and have already resulted in some potentially major re-structuring in such areas as Indian education, tribal politics, and social patterns. More than racial purity, in an age when perhaps the majority of Indian people (defined by tribal membership, where blood quantum is officially calculated as well as by self-

definition) are of some degree of "mixed" (that is, non-Indian) descent, language is becoming a hallmark of the truly Indian. That a majority of Indians no longer speak their tribal languages, far from rendering this assertion improbable, makes the political importance of language in the context of mobilization all the more apparent. The re-emergence of language as a primary concern of politically-conscious Indian people is recent, and to some extent still an embryonic, movement. But already it has effected changes within both the traditional (Indian-speaking) and partially assimilated, often urban Indian populations, re-orienting them towards Native language as a relatively simple, clear-cut, highly symbolic issue of profound emotional and political implication (Manuel and Posluns, 1974). As a strategy of mobilization, language has enormous potential (witness India) and enormous flexibility.

At the time of European contact with aboriginal North America, there were somewhat more than 300 languages spoken on the continent, grouped into several (estimates vary according to classification systems) major families. The decimation of the Indian population (for which again estimates vary from $\frac{1}{2}$ to more than $\frac{3}{4}$) through disease, warfare, campaigns of extermination (e.g., in California) over some 350 years, necessarily had pro-

found impact on the survival of languages. In fact, a number of languages simply vanished with their populations, either through literal extinction or through the merging of remnant populations into other linguistic groups (some Indian-speaking, some not).

This process of biological and military imperialism *vis-à-vis* Indian populations was, however, supplemented by a conscious policy of cultural and linguistic imperialism. It was never enough that Indian peoples were dispossessed of their birthright in land, resources, freedom, and self-determination. Over and above these losses, Indians were expected to sustain the loss of their identity as Indians, their culture, and of course their languages. It has been noted that: "It was the Indian's great misfortune to be conquered by a people intolerant of cultural diversity" (Cahn, 1969, p. 32). As is so often the case, cultural imperialism as a policy reflected an apparently sincere conviction on the part of American government and society that the European tradition constituted a more advanced, felicitous and an altogether more desirable style of life than that of the various Indian tribes. Indeed, the implicit-and sometimes explicit-assumption was usually made that anyone, even a savage, given an acquaintance with the advantages of civilized life, would of course prefer the latter. This, it might be added, was in spite of the curious fact that there are many instances of White captives of the Indians refusing to be repatriated to their White civilization, while there are virtually no examples of Indian captives voluntarily choosing White society.

It was early discovered that language formed a major barrier to the propagation of the benefits of White society, and in addition that the retention of Indian language (and all Indian languages tended to be lumped together as one in White eyes) generally militated against successful assimilation of Indians into American society. Therefore, a conscious policy was begun of reducing Indian languages to marginal status. The primary vehicle of this policy after the Indian wars, when Indian populations on reservations were under the total control of the United

States government, was education. Although there were relatively small-scale efforts at developing Indian education programs before the end of the 19th century, the major thrust in the field dates from that period. A number of schools were established by the government through the Bureau of Indian Affairs to provide education for Indian students. Obviously, this was to be "American," that is, non-Indian education, oriented toward the assimilation of the Indian population into the American cultural mainstream. One of the first steps in this educational molding (indoctrination is hardly too strong a term) was the introduction of the English language as the primary medium of communication. Indeed, language became the primary tool in the process of "breaking down" the Indian student preparatory to his/her intensive exposure to American ways. First, Indian students from many linguistic groups, often mutually unintelligible, were thrust together in boarding schools hundreds, even thousands, of miles from their homes and linguistic communities. Often, as a conscious policy, students speaking the same languages were separated from one another, effectively cut off from communication with the world in a literal sense. Then, in order to force more rapid substitution of English for the tribal languages, students were punished—often physically—for use of their native languages. The literature (Washburn, 1973) contains many references to such abuses as whipping, locking students in closets, assigning heavy work tasks, and denying food or rest as sanctions against the use of the native language. When it is remembered that these penalties were being administered to students of five or six years of age and that they often persisted without respite for periods as long as six or more years, during which students might have little or no contact with their families and communities, it is no wonder that many of the products (or victims?) of Indian education returned to their communities hardly able to communicate in their native languages and psychologically undisciplined to do so. Needless to say, the content of the education thus pressed upon its Indian subjects reinforced the subtle psychological message of the process itself: Indian languages were

held to be primitive, animal-like, inferior to European languages, and totally inadequate to the needs of civilization. Long before the Whorf hypothesis was formulated, White educators operated on the assumption that language was the key to world view, and that so long as Indians retained their own languages, they could not possibly understand, let alone accept and use, the American alternative.

Educational Policies

Policies such as these, in surprisingly unmodified form, persisted in the United States into the 1950's. Investigations by groups as disparate as the National Indian Council (a semi-militant organization of young, primarily reservation and rural Indians, especially active in Oklahoma and the Southwest) and the United States Senate Special Subcommittee on Indian Education have chronicled the abuses to which it lent itself. A report notes that "of about 300 recognizably separate Indian languages and dialects still extant in the U.S., only roughly 40% have more than 100 speakers. In the case of about 55% of all these languages, the remaining speakers are of advanced age..." (Cahn, 1969, p. 43). That even these many speakers survive after nearly a century of policies of suppression such as the above is a testimony not merely to the cultural tenacity of Indian people; it also testifies to the fact that, as the Senate report of 1969 points out, the record of performance in government-sponsored Indian education programs leads inevitably to "a major indictment of our failure" [Special (Senate) Subcommittee on Indian Education, 1969, p. ix]. Unfortunately, while the program may have failed to prepare Indians for successful assimilation into American society, it has been altogether too successful at undermining the roots of Indian cultural autonomy, and nowhere more than in language use. It is the experience of a great many Indians, particularly in the generations growing to maturity during the 1920s through 1950s, that the use of Indian language demanded too high a price psychologically and socially in the school system. In effect, they opted out, often refusing to speak Indian languages themselves or to teach them to their children. As was remarked of

one such woman:

She still speaks her native language with older members of her family, but memories of her embarrassment in school made her determined never to teach her own eight children their Indian tongue. (Cahn, 1969, p. 42)

In addition, other factors have conspired against the persistence of Indian languages. For example, more and more Indians during the past 50 years or so have married either out of their tribe (and into other linguistic groups) or into non-Indian populations (primarily White). In both cases, English tends to become the medium of communication. Perhaps even more important in recent years (especially since 1951 and the emergence of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' urban-oriented Relocation Program, more recently called Employment Assistance) has been the migration of Indian people into urban areas where dispersal of Indian population (there do not tend to be Indian ghettos, for a variety of reasons), the intermixture in urban Indian social and cultural programs of multitribal populations and the absence of any Indian orientation in education all militate against any retention of Indian languages, certainly among younger people.

Conscious educational policies and sociological pressures reaching into the last decade have tended to reinforce a movement away from Indian languages in ways perhaps peculiar to "internal colonies" almost entirely subject to political and social manipulation by dominant populations. The awareness among Indian parents, carefully nurtured by official and unofficial agencies (including the pervasive Christian missionary programs), that retention of Indian languages might well prove a social and economic handicap, has led in some cases to parental resistance. Parents suspect the introduction of programs designed to utilize Indian languages on those rare occasions when such alternatives have been allowed to surface. At the same time, those who advocated retention, and indeed expansion, of Indian languages were often handicapped by the artificially-imposed freeze on their natural development. Thus, many Indian languages have no developed orthography, existing not merely in cultural but also increasingly in genera-

tional isolation. For those languages developed in written form, usually by missionaries, no standardization has existed with respect to form; and contradictions in interpretation often remain unreconciled. Although some tribal groups, such as the Navajo, as many as 40 percent of the 120,000+ population were functionally illiterate in English as recently as 1970, virtually no written materials exist in the native language (and actually Navajo, with a tribal newspaper and a handful of stories and grammars already in existence prior to the mid-1960s, is in probably the best condition of any United States Indian language for a "literary takeoff"). Therefore, no vehicles have existed for the use of the language on an everyday basis in written form. This leaves many languages as the preserve of the elderly and those maximally unacculturated in the American way of life, a condition which in turn relegates the language to a position ever more inadequate to the task of interaction with the modern world. Vocabulary and conceptual development remain essentially frozen in an ethnological present far removed from the 1960s and 1970s, through no inherent deficiency of the language but through lack of use and natural development. The absence of educational programs utilizing Indian languages as an instructional vehicle and the almost total lack of Indian teachers qualified to engage in such instruction, suggested as recently as the date of the Senate Subcommittee report (1969) that this state of affairs was not apt to change.

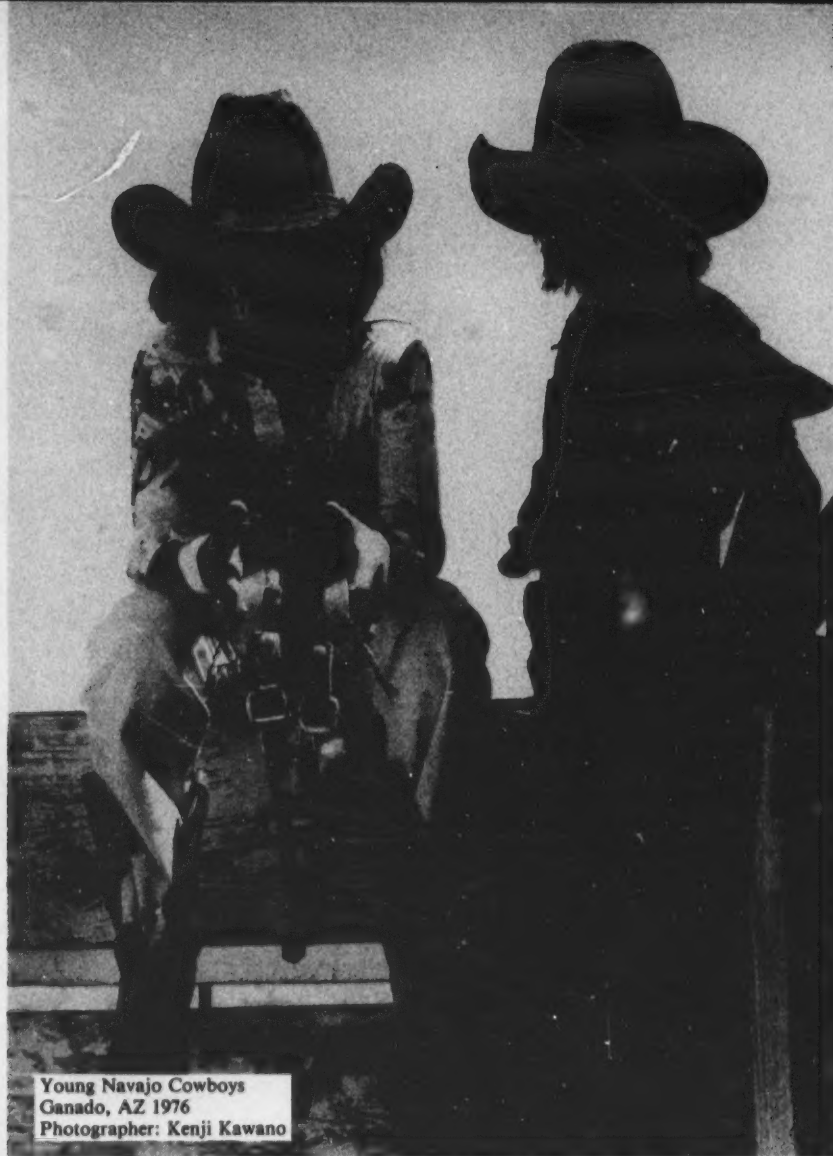
The period of the late 1960s and the early 1970s brought some startling changes to Indian affairs, however. The increasingly radical stance of some Indian groups in their confrontation with the United States government may have, in terms of sheer numbers, represented a minority movement (the wariness of many reservation Indians regarding such events as the Alcatraz occupation in the spring and summer of 1970 and the sit-in at the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C. in the fall of 1972 suggests that this was at least initially the case). However, these movements arose among Indian people; spoke to the Indian causes with which increasingly large numbers of

Indians in both reservation and urban areas could identify; and led to the emergence of a self-conscious Indian ethnic ideology of which the critical underpinning was the revival and revitalization of lost heritage, including important Indian languages. As the Alcatraz Declaration stated: "We feel that if we are going to succeed, we must hold on to the old ways" (Joseph, 1972, p. 200). Language had, of course, persisted on the reservations, in spite of linguistic oppression to the point where "the BIA estimates that 2/3 of children attending its schools do speak another language" (Fuchs and Havighurst, 1972, pp. 207-208). Among the larger concentrated Indian populations such as the Navajo, Hopi, Pueblo, Sioux, Cherokee, and Apache (and the non-Indian Eskimo in Alaska), the majority of the population retained the Native language to a significant degree, albeit decreasingly with each succeeding generation. A fighting chance for revival existed.

Urban Indians

Urban Indians, at or close to a majority of the United States Indian population according to recent statistics, had, on the whole, lost the use of Indian language. Significantly, one of the first gestures in the reconciliation of the two populations and in the emergence of the new Indian ideology of tradition, was a conscious emphasis on language among hitherto alienated urban Indian populations. Many of the emerging leaders of such groups as the American Indian Movement, some of whom had grown up away from the tribal community and without benefit of Indian language, have consciously sought out Indian language instruction. Indian students in the newly developing Indian Studies Programs at various universities and other educational institutions began demanding the inclusion of Indian languages in the curriculum, their own if possible (e.g., Ojibwa and Sioux at the University of Minnesota), a generally agreed upon substitute otherwise (e.g., Coast Salish at the more tribally heterogeneous University of Washington). Language has suddenly come to be perceived on the conscious level as the primary vehicle for the assertion of cultural identity.

Obviously, the deterioration of Indian languages as effective mobilization



Young Navajo Cowboys
 Ganado, AZ 1976
 Photographer: Kenji Kawano

vehicles was already far advanced at this time. Extraordinary measures were called for in order even to save the existing languages, which remained viable in the early 1970s; and the primary battlefield would inevitably be the school system. Where Indian populations had previously been allowed to exercise virtually no control over educational programs, either on or off the reservation, they began to demand a voice not merely in the pro forma administration of the schools but also in the hiring and firing of personnel and in the development of curricula. The Navajo tribe took the lead in developing an educational program based on bilingualism and on cultural heritage (at the Rough Rock Demonstration School and at Navajo Community College); other tribes and com-

munities have demanded and begun the same sort of program. New efforts were made to develop more written materials in Indian languages, especially Navajo. Other tribes, eager to imitate the Navajo experiment, lacked the core of existing materials in their languages to push ahead as rapidly. The old people, the traditional bearers of tribal wisdom—and of such vital adjuncts as language—emerged from apparent obscurity (surely not so complete as outsiders might have imagined, given the degree of retention of language and culture that existed even in the face of officially sanctioned repression) to assume important roles in tribally and communally directed programs of cultural enrichment, many based on language (instruction, recordings, analysis, etc.). Young



Photographer: Owen Seumptewa

Indians at universities began to inquire about techniques of developing languages for curriculum purposes, unfortunately at a time when many linguistic departments had turned away from descriptive and historical linguistics in favor of the more esoteric pursuit of transformational grammars.

Knowledge of an Indian language assumed considerable importance in establishing Indian identity; and, increasingly, its assertion constituted evidence of an essentially militant stance in Indian politics and in the confrontation with American society. Even the normally conservative National Council on Indian Opportunity, in its Statement of January 26, 1970, recognized the importance of the new concern with language by recommending funding to implement the

Bilingual Education Act and suggesting "that courses in Indian languages, history, and culture be established in all Indian schools including those slated for transfer to state control..." (Josephy, 1971, p. 201).

In slowly responding to the Indian demand for recognition, in society and particularly in the educational system, of the validity of Indian language and the Indian cultural heritage, American society has perceived the issues, not surprisingly, within its own cultural perspective. Thus:

Bilingual education is proposed not simply as a bridge to the past, but for its positive value in providing familiarity and skill in the handling of different cognitive systems. In a multi-national, multi-ethnic world, language is seen as a key to identify and protect against alienation and disorientation. (Fuchs and Havighurst, 1972, p. 209)

Clothed in the White rhetoric of newly resurgent cultural pluralism, Indian concern for language and heritage seems not only non-threatening, but indeed rather prosaic. From the Indian point of view, however, its implications are both far deeper and far broader. As one Indian remarked some years ago when confronted with the implications of official educational policy: "The Mesquakie language, our ways, our religion are interwoven into one. All are significant to our religion. With another language we cannot perform our religion" (*American Indian Reader: Education*, 1972, p. 102). In the concern for language, there is a concern for the whole tapestry of Indian culture. Retention of language is a commitment to the retention of culture. The revival of one is the revival of the other.

The resurgence of Indian culture, however, can only occur through conscious resistance to the forces of American society at large, for the thrust of that culture is toward homogenization, toward the reduction of cultural alternatives to their lowest denominator. Resistance to the whole process of assimilation requires some carefully formulated resistance to its primary components, of which language is one. This is not to suggest that Indians, insistent on the validity of their language and culture, necessarily attempt to block out 350 years of history, to turn back the clock as it were to the days of cultural purity (a spurious concept at best). Linguistic nationalism in this case doesn't even necessarily mean the total rejection of English, though it may well mean its subordination to a secondary, utilitarian role in internal Indian community life and in the interaction of one linguistic group with another. What it does mean is the re-assertion of a vital, politically self-conscious Indian population in the heart of America, carrying forward with new weapons the age-old struggle for survival on Indian terms in the modern world.

To refer to language as ideology is an exaggeration. Language does not, cannot, in and of itself, constitute a comprehensive ideological program. The emergence, however, of language as a primary vehicle for political mobiliza-

tion represents both a natural and a widely recurring phenomenon in the United States and elsewhere; and while it does not explicitly provide a political program, it shapes, explicates, and carries one. It represents a commitment to ethnicity as the key to mobilization for a particular group; it guides the formation of political statements along culturally distinct lines; it defines, in an otherwise blurred context, the boundaries of a group; it recalls the depth of cultural heritage by appealing to an almost atavistic emotional core in long-suppressed populations. Out of the self-conscious examination of the language, out of attempts to shape it to new purposes and designs, comes a new and deeper awareness of what the traditional identity consisted, and out of what the future identity must grow. The grammarian who discovers the roots, paths, and processes of language, who traces the evidence of change, who codifies and standardizes, lays the groundwork for greater change: first linguistic and then political. Language becomes an active tool in reshaping the world. And each language is the special tool of its users, and of them alone. Out of the ferment of linguistic awareness, which is beginning to pervade the Indian community, the grammarian of the revolution may even now be emerging.

It is by no means necessary to take an entirely deterministic view of language to argue that its role is critical to the existence of alternative cultures and programs of action. To argue that the human condition in general is enriched by linguistic and cultural diversity is perhaps an act of faith, and existential predisposition. What is politically important in the American Indian case is simply, fundamentally, that Indian people have begun to identify their languages as the core of their culture, and as a key to their never-ending hope of and struggle for cultural autonomy. The battle has been fought in the schools, in the courts, in the halls of Congress where commitments on Indian affairs are made and broken, even in the churches, including one at a place called Wounded Knee. For a very long time there have been only two strategies open to Indians in American society linguistically and culturally: to assimilate into the

American mainstream or to die Indian. The struggle is again renewed for an alternative, the possibility of surviving, of living, on Indian terms. Language is the symbolic banner of this new American revolution.

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Native Bilingual Education:

Oral Tradition and the Teacher

by Terry Tafoya

I am a storyteller. As such I carry a rich treasure and a great responsibility, for our legends are not only used for entertainment, but to provide structures and patterns for the social interactions of our people.

I am also a teacher-trainer in the area of native and bilingual education. For the last two years I have served as a field representative for the National Bilingual Training and Resource Center at the University of Washington, providing workshops and technical assistance to native bilingual programs in Alaska.

Most of the curriculum material that I have encountered in the near decade I've been working in the field has little relationship to either traditional Indian teaching methods or to the current standards of conventional quality education. *Goldilocks and the Three Bears* translated into various native languages is not my idea of what bilingual education is all about.

Long time ago, long before the coming of the Great Flood, or before the world turned upside down, all the people were animals. The people came to the Longhouse of the Bear for a feast. Now in those days people liked to dip their food in oil, just as today people might put butter on their bread or gravy on their potatoes. But there was no oil for their food, and the people began to complain.

"You want oil?" laughed the Bear, "I'll give you oil," and he began singing his song, dancing out to the center of his Longhouse where a fire blazed, roasting the salmon. Now bears have a lot of fat underneath their skin, and as he rubbed his hands over the fire, the fat began to melt and drip out in the form of oil. This oil, his relatives caught in a large wooden bowl and offered to the people to dip their food in.

Now someone was watching, and that someone was Bluejay. Bluejays love to steal things, even today, and this one desired the song and power of Bear. The Creator had told the people that each one of us possesses a song, our most precious gift. A song can be given or shared, but never taken. Bluejay knew this, but he wanted Bear's power so badly that he decided he would steal the song anyway.

And so the Bluejay called out to the people and invited them to his Longhouse for a feast. The next full moon the people came, and just as at Bear's, there was no oil, and the people began to complain.

"You want oil?" laughed Bluejay, "I'll give you oil." Then he danced out to the Longhouse fire, singing the song of the Bear. He rubbed his hands over the fire as he had seen Bear do. Now someone was watching, and that someone was the Creator. The Creator was so angry at Bluejay he caused the fire to leap up, burning the Bluejay's hands. Bluejay jumped back in pain and embarrassment, and he's been jumping ever since. If you look at a bluejay's feet, they look charred and grey. A jay can't walk like a normal bird; it can only hop. That's its punishment for stealing the Bear's song.

This is the difficulty our children face in schools today: they are all forced to sing the same song. Like the story my relatives from Skokomish tell about Bluejay, singing the wrong song causes pain and trouble. This is not solely a problem for our Indian students. White children, Asians, Chicanos, and Blacks are also dropping out of school. The test scores of all students, not just native ones, have declined over the years.

In terms of bilingual efforts, native programs tend to be badly sung imitations of European models. Native teachers are often hired only because of their fluency in the language, not because of their skills as teachers. Professional teachers in charge either have little or no background in the native language, and any bilingual experience they do have is usually in Spanish or French.

I am constantly astonished at how well native teachers manage to do what they do with the scarce and inconsistent training with which they have been provided. Often the training consists primarily of a non-Indian linguist coming in to teach literacy in the native language. One teaches as one was taught, and as a result, our Indian teachers usually duplicate the efforts of their linguists once they get back into the classrooms. Teaching methods that may be appropriate in teaching adults may not be appropriate for young children. For example, I observed a native teacher having a kindergarten student laboriously copy a word list of native short *a* vowels (hardly typical kindergarten fare).

There is rarely any overall coordination in the use of those bilingual materials which have already been developed. I remember walking into a district where the bilingual native teachers had gone through all the written materials in one week by simply reading everything aloud to their students. It had taken two years to develop what they read aloud in one week.

Controversy abounds because districts can't decide if they want a cultural-inclusion program, an immersion program, a bilingual/bicultural program, or an ESL program. For the most part, such terminology is meaningless, since

the title rarely tells one what is actually done in a program. Also, employee turnover is often high enough so that some teachers and directors are not even aware of curriculum materials that were developed when the program started. As new directors come in, program philosophy and approaches change.

In addition, native language programs differ from most bilingual efforts in that they place a strong emphasis on language maintenance or even revival, rather than focusing solely on improving English fluency. It is not a question of ignoring English fluency, by any means, but rather a question of priority.

I feel it is imperative that we return to the source, that we look back at how traditionally native language, information, concepts, and values were taught to our children. We can then take these techniques and modify them for classroom use. It should be understood that we can never fully duplicate traditional methods in a school developed for and by an alien culture. A story is traditionally told when it is appropriate, and not because it's 11:30 a.m. and Circle Time. One did not traditionally learn language during intensive 30 minute sessions five times a week, and then learn native values, and then learn arts and crafts. One learned all these things at the same time. The language was the medium through which values, arts, crafts, and skills were taught. Stories were and are told because they describe the ways in which people can relate to one another.

Legends tell why things are as they are, why there is death, and what the consequences are of immoral behavior. Importantly, legends are not changed, they remain the same while the audience changes, matures, and begins to better understand the many levels inherent within the story. Stories speak directly to a child, and there is a child in each one of us.

From the perspective of adult cause and effect and western science, the information that traditional stories offer seems in the words of Bruno Bettelheim (1976):

... fantastic rather than true. As a matter of fact, these solutions seem so incorrect to so many adults—who have become estranged from the ways in which young people experience the world—that they object to exposing children to such "false"

information. However, realistic explanations are usually incomprehensible to children, because they lack the abstract understanding required to make sense of them. While giving a scientifically correct answer makes adults think they have clarified things for the child, such explanations leave the young confused, overpowered, and intellectually defeated.

[Children can learn to] . . . parrot explanations which according to their own experience of the world are lies, but which they must believe to be true because some adult has said so. The consequence is that children come to distrust their own experience, and therefore themselves and what their minds can do for them. (pp. 47-48)

It is important to realize that our Indian legends do not exist for any one purpose. A story that entertains can also teach moral values and practical instruction, all at the same time. The Indian languages with which I am familiar make a distinction between a story told for its historical significance and stories that in English might be called fiction.

Unfortunately most non-Indians have only encountered our legends in a translated written form, out of the context of the traditional storyteller. In many tribes, there is a feedback mechanism established between storyteller and audience. Listeners must periodically respond with a word or sound whenever the storyteller pauses, or else the story stops. This interaction contributes to the ceremonial aspects of storytelling. When one simply reduces a story to ink on a page one loses the personal interaction that exists in the original form.

This is why some elders have misgivings about turning traditional legends into conventional curriculum materials. In the past, with elders providing most of the education for our children, there was a monitoring system where each child progressed at his or her own rate. Education was considered a privilege to be earned, rather than a right for all. Producing videotapes and workbooks moves us farther away from the point of making certain a child is being taught at the proper time of his or her own development.

Most legends that non-Indians have encountered in anthologies are only random selections from complete cycles of stories told over specific periods of time, usually during the winter. In fact, this is another difficulty, since some tribes have specific taboos against telling

legends outside of their proper season. A book or filmstrip depicting a story that can be used at the convenience of a child at any time can then be seen as a violation of this taboo. Because the legends are taken out of the context of a full cycle, they sometimes seem incoherent to the casual reader.

If I mention "glass slippers," I don't have to tell most readers the whole story of Cinderella, since the story is part of the Western heritage. Just so, many Indian legends contain similar references, and if one doesn't know the related legends, one can miss the intent and meaning of the specific legend.

In addition, the elements of a particular legend may have specific meaning for a young child who may require the security of a strong parent figure. An older child may need a different story whose message stresses a growing independence and a striking out to accomplish one's own destiny. When the cycle of the many different stories was complete, each child was periodically exposed to various legends, some of which would be more meaningful to a child than others.

This is another difficulty with the way in which stories are used in schools today. Children are exposed to only a small handful of legends. Curriculum materials concentrate instead on worksheets teaching literacy: vocabulary lists of animals, clothing, and body parts.

The structure of the language training is not done in a native context either. Instead I find "the blue pen is on the table" syndrome. Exercises concentrate on European models, resulting in an artificial misuse of the native language. We end up twisting sentences into conjugated form for the sole purpose of teaching the conjugation of a verb. Many Indian languages do not have the small talk or cocktail party format of English. One doesn't state, "The blue pen is on the table," because the response would be "So?" It is unnecessary to state the obvious if the pen were actually on the table, which it isn't. Thus our children go home from school and attempt to use the language lessons from the bilingual classes and either get laughed at by the elders for speaking in such an artificial manner, or ignored, because elders don't want to reinforce undesirable behavior.

If I sound negative it is because I have been in native homes where children are

literally unable to communicate with their own fathers because the youngest in the family speaks only English and the fathers and elders only speak their native language. We have trained our native communities to believe that schools are the answer, and that we can teach our children to be fluent in both English and the native language.

I have seen programs train children to count in an Indian language, memorize vocabulary lists, and do simple translations, but most programs are not geared to produce fluency. Even though the mandate of Title VII programs is to produce proficiency in English, even this charge is not being met very well.

If all those of Spanish or Asian heritage never uttered another word in those languages, Spanish and Asian languages would continue unabated, spoken in their homelands. These *are* our homelands as native people. If this generation fails to learn its native language, for many tribes their language will be gone forever. A different way of understanding the world will have disappeared for eternity.

More and more tribes are realizing that something must be done immediately to insure the continuation of their languages, for without those languages the culture and history will not be accurately or adequately carried on. As a result, native communities are stressing the importance of a good native language program, but I wouldn't know where to recommend that they look for a good existing program. Those students who are fluent in their native language are, for the most part, those who entered the program fluent, have learned literacy from school, but not the language.

Communities, especially those in the far north, are urging the teaching of survival skills, since many students are growing up without them. Youngsters who would ordinarily learn certain skills at specific times in their lives are spending those times in boarding schools. They return home during the summer, and winter skills are not taught then. Students graduate (or drop out) and return to their villages where they are shamed because they are ignorant of what someone much younger should know.

The end result is young people who lack the experiences necessary to survive in

either their native environment or in White society. While I strongly support the concept of survival skills being taught through bilingual programs, as well as arts and crafts, rarely is there any integration of learning these things with learning the language. The approach becomes disconnected.

Unfortunately, as professional educators, we have been too glib in explaining how learning works at a tribal community level. To say that elders are the primary teachers is not enough. Youngsters are also taught by their peers, parents, aunts and uncles, animals, and non-Indian teachers. But rarely if ever does one find the specific methods of instruction described. As Jerome Bruner states (1971):

One does not find many careful studies of education in primitive society with education viewed literally as leading the child into the views, beliefs, and skills of a society. For more than a quarter century, most American writing has been dominated by the "culture-and-personality" point of view that concerned itself with the handling of emotional crisis points in a child's life (bowel training, weaning, the arrival of new siblings, etc.). It is difficult in such studies to find much on the development of skills or the process for passing on attitudes and values. (p. 352)

While our elders are still alive it is critical that we discuss with them how they were taught by their old people. Our traditional teaching methods were sufficient to permit survival and sophistication for untold generations. It would be a tragedy for these techniques to be forever lost when they might be effective not only for our native children, but other children as well. We need to pay careful attention not only to the words spoken in traditional situations, but also to the context of the words as well as non-verbal communication.

As a teacher and as a storyteller, I am very afraid because I see native people now graduating with pieces of paper who go into their classrooms and teach exactly like White teachers in Ohio or Quebec. As linguists, we speak of compound vs. coordinate bilingualism, where one learns a second language in a specific setting, such as a classroom, instead of learning the second language in the same way as one learned the first. It is difficult to use the classroom-learned language in a non-classroom setting. In the same way, our young

native teachers have been programmed to teach in only one way. Even though they themselves may have learned certain skills in a traditional manner, we as educators have put blinders on them, so they don't see how to transfer knowledge to their students as they learned such knowledge as children.

We have taught them instead, that teaching is lecturing, based on a centuries old European model from the days before the printing press, when the teacher read aloud from a book, and all the students wrote down the teacher's every word, ending up with their own copies of the book. I see native teachers doing impersonations of the classic elementary teacher, standing stiffly in the front of the class, a handkerchief stuffed up one sleeve, lecturing in a monotone, and never touching the children. As soon as school is out, these native teachers then revert to acting normally as Indian people, but they have not learned to merge these two roles—that of teacher and native—into one.

My description of the teacher is certainly not ideal from the cultural standpoint of native or White, but it must be realized that we have few role models of natives who are also professional teachers. Most people in White or native communities fail to recognize the tremendous courage and accomplishments of our Indian people who have managed to go through the system and emerge qualified.

These native teachers have rarely been exposed to course work or experiences of how to work effectively with native children. Looking over the curriculum even in specific native teacher-training projects, one discovers that the specialized courses usually consist of: a survey course on native literature that deals with a few legends, and a number of short stories and poems by contemporary Indian writers; a course in native language literacy; and perhaps, a course entitled something like "The Indian Child and His Education," which will examine material on low test scores on standardized tests, and may discuss ethnic stereotypes. Ninety percent of this material is written by non-Indians.

Other than these "Native Courses," the rest of the educational experience will be no different from that of any other teacher. An Indian student is expected to take all this in and filter it out as



"Indian." I feel the most positive contribution I make as a native teacher-trainer is to validate the idea that we can utilize Indian teaching methods in the classroom without betraying our roles as professional teachers. Most of my efforts go into merging the concepts of being Indian and being a classroom teacher.

It is awkward for me to try to outline in linear logic what one should know; I feel as though I'm writing the right answers for the back of a textbook. From the standpoint of traditional native education I should tell a story, and then allow the readers to draw their own conclusions as to learning to see, learning to integrate, and learning to listen to the words of those who think in very different ways than we may think.

There is a Zen story (native stories have no monopoly on truth) that tells of a wise man and a scholar. The scholar comes to the house of the wise man and asks to be taught. The wise man offers the scholar a cup of tea. He begins to pour, and to the scholar's surprise, the wise man continues pouring as the tea spills out onto the floor.

"But you are over filling the cup!" exclaims the scholar.

"But you are just like this cup," replies the wise man. "You come to me asking for wisdom, but you are already so filled you will not hear what I have to say."

In our efforts to improve bilingual programs for native communities—we must be careful not to approach as full cups—confident that we know what is best. Our native people are not fools or ignorant simpletons. We have a proud and rich heritage we wish to continue for the sake of our children and the world. To do so means respectful cooperation of efforts between the professional educational community and our tribal populations. It means our reservations will listen to suggestions, but will not be dictated to concerning bilingual programs, because the whole bilingual issue is strongly tied to tribal identity and sovereignty. The future is dangerous, critical, and exciting.

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Photographer: Owen Seumtewa

The Directions of Indian and Native Education: Culture, Content, and Container

by Terry Tafoya

In my work across the United States and Canada with Native American and Canadian Indian education, I see many trends emerging. Some are very healthy and encouraging. There is a re-awakening of concern about the Old Ways, a looking back not for the sake of romantic nostalgia, but for practical guidance to meeting the challenges of today's world. More and more native people are questioning modern values and the very structure of government and organization on both federal and local levels.

The potential for positive change is very great. However, if one stirs up water in a pond in the process of moving oneself, the bottom is disturbed, and the silt tends to obscure seeing what supports the canoe. The purpose of this paper is to look not only at the positive aspects of future native education, but also at some of the difficulties we face. As I like to tell people, I am a prophet with a little *p*. Prophets with a little *p* look ahead and warn people of dangers that are coming and say "here are some of the ways you might act." A Prophet with a capital *P* looks ahead and warns people of dangers that are coming and says "here is the only way in which you should act." The one thing that the two classes of prophets have in common is that the majority of people will not listen.

At any rate, here are some important points to remember in dealing with native education. The primary thing is this: words have power and can be very dangerous. Our old people have always

known this; that is why they sometimes take so long before they speak. They are weighing in their minds the possible consequence of their speaking. Words, and English words especially, are cages for ideas. Words tend to alter within our minds and change from the description of something out there in the real world, into the thing that is being described. This is a hard thought and, like a dog with a bone, I will return to it periodically and shake it with my teeth. For now, consider how easily and carelessly we use words like "culture," "oral tradition," "education," or, for that matter, "alcoholism," "drug abuse," and "crime." These are words that have really gotten too big for their breeches. We use them without thinking.

Everyone has his or her own understanding of what they mean, and because these understandings are not the same, people become disappointed with the various programs that deal with those six topics. The problem is this: when we use these terms, we are really describing in a shorthand way extremely complex relationships between different groups of people. Culture is not like a cake, for example, that we might cut it up and look at it one piece at a time. Oral tradition involves a great deal that is not oral at all. Education, as practiced by our ancestors, does not correspond with "education" as non-natives define it. "Alcoholism," "drug abuse," and "crime" are all words describing related subjects and, when used, represent sloppy ways of talking about established patterns of interactions between one person and another, and one person and him/herself. Treatment of these problems is not to be found by curing

crime, alcoholism, etc., but in resolving unhealthy interactions between people. Otherwise we simply treat symptoms. You can lower the temperature of a feverish child by throwing him/her into the snow, but this will not fight the infection that is causing the temperature to rise. If you want to stop an alcoholic from drinking, this is not accomplished, in the long run, by simply taking the alcohol away. You have to look at the alcoholic's relationships with self, other people, and the rest of the world. Unless you alter the relationships that are reinforcing the drinking behavior, the drinking behavior will begin again as soon as another bottle is found. This is the problem with sending people to treatment centers where they are in totally different environments and around totally different people than before. They stop drinking and then are sent home to the same basic circumstances that they left, which starts the drinking behavior all over again. To understand this better, and its impact on native education, here are some things to think about:

Product and process are two different things. White culture teaches us to evaluate or judge by *Production*. If the number of logs in the timber industry drops, something is wrong. If the number of salmon decreases, something is wrong. But we cannot judge our children's achievement by the number of baskets they make or the salaries they can earn. Beware that you do not end up only looking at the end of a process. Life itself is the journeying, not the destination. The things that have traditionally been done within the tribes are a training process—the sweatlodge; old-

This paper was presented at the 12th General Assembly of the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, September, 1980.

fashioned methods of hunting and fishing; story-telling; Indian dancing—all these teach discipline, teach an attitude towards the Earth Mother, and an understanding of what our place is with all our relations. In short, the old ways teach us our purpose for being. White society has always shied away from understanding the purpose of life in terms of the everyday person. The business of life is life. The traditional native way maintains and renews life. This is the focus of our ceremonies, public renewals not only of our own lives, but the renewal of the Earth Mother's life. White people use terms like "ecosystem" or "biosphere" as a limited way of understanding what we mean when we speak of the Earth. But they only look around them. Thus it is all right to pollute one stream, because the majority of people don't live near there; it is all right to build a nuclear plant in a desert because few people (besides Indians) live there. When you understand that all of our lives are only a small part of a greater life—the Earth herself, your attitude changes. You take a larger view—see with the eyes of an eagle, like our old people tell us. When you destroy life, it is like throwing a stone into a pond. The ripples cannot be stopped. To pollute or dam a stream destroys a salmon run, and will therefore change the lifestyle of a people where culture, economy, and religion are based on salmon. What we call "witch-fires," the nuclear energy with which the Whites play in the interest of economy, cannot be made safe, but only buried. If we see the Earth as a living body, we can understand that putting poison within any part of that body will eventually infect the whole.

This is the ultimate danger of separating process from product, and only seeing product. To only see the end means we are blind to the path that leads to the end we feel we should seek. To be blind to the path means you fail to see other possible avenues and destinations.

Consider this: we talk about curriculum products, writing textbooks, opening a tribal school. These are all products. To get to that destination, you need to know what you'll find along the way. But almost all projects involving Indian and native education focus, for funding purposes, on some definable goal. A project will end up with a dictionary, 12 videotapes, and 18 curriculum modules.

But how do you get people to the point where they are able to effectively use all these things? How do you get the cooperation of the many people involved in making all these things? I fear that the American assembly line system has had too great an impact on other areas of work. Good education cannot be measured by the number of books it produces. This is like evaluating the quality of honey by measuring it with a yardstick.

Many of us have the worthy goal of wanting our children to be more traditional in terms of values, respect, and forms of behavior. We also want them to be able to do as well as they can with such practical matters as earning a living, marriage, and child-rearing. Some people hope that the new cultural programs, educational systems, bilingual projects, and curriculum products will do this. It doesn't happen like that. If that was the way it worked, then all Indian children who went to White school would have become Whites.

The confusion lies in mistaking product for process. All the elements of traditional life contributed in making a complete Indian in the old days. I've heard old people say that discipline begins on the board, meaning that a tiny baby strapped to the cradleboard is already being taught certain things that are valued by his or her tribe. The rituals of fasting, spirit quests, giveaways, and feasts all taught things that cannot simply be summed up and poured into a child's ear the way conventional education pours in arithmetic. They are all processes of learning. The skills learned in beadwork, tanning hides, and traditional fishing all teach patience as well as physical coordination. Beadwork, weaving, and basketmaking all teach a way of seeing the world in a different way, of being able to visualize what does not yet exist, learning to see how patterns can be made or taken away to build something that can be recognized and understood. Think about this.

I am very afraid for the future when we do have x number of books, x number of video tapes, and x number of native teachers in the classrooms. I fear that many of our children will still be unruly, take drugs, and drop out of school. Then the community will ask: What went wrong? When you give our children the end products of things without putting

them through the process that will allow them to understand not only with their heads but also with their hearts, they will not be able to accept what they have been given any more than a lot of them today accept geometry, civics, and home economics.

Understand that it is part of my job as a prophet to bring up doom and gloom. That's one reason why prophets and Prophets are the sort of people you'd rather know at a distance. *What you must remember is that we must try.* But we will make mistakes. The purpose of prophets is to explain those mistakes and make suggestions to avoid future mistakes. There is still tremendous potential in tribal school and cultural curriculum, but we must never make the mistake of thinking that any one program is going to cure anything more than a symptom.

If you want to end up with a traditional Indian person you're going to have to provide all those things which form those values, behaviors, and thought-patterns that we so loosely call "traditional." Otherwise it's like trying to come up with a chocolate cake and neglecting to add baking powder, eggs, and sugar. You get something, but not what you wanted.

Ask yourself honestly if you really think a child who lacks the discipline that used to begin on the board and which was enhanced by the skills of beadwork, tanning, fishing, and hunting, is going to listen respectfully to an elder who comes into the classroom or sit quietly and watch a videotape of how canoes were made. *I am not saying books, videotapes, or culture programs are not needed.* I am saying we need to look very closely at how we can best use these things within a school and community setting. With the small number of elders we have, and the mortality rate what it is, I think it is vital that we record as much as we can from our old people before they are gone. It is a tragedy that so many tribes have to record artificially what would have been taught and remembered in the old days. But we have to act swiftly. I would prefer to see that what we gather be used more as a resource and reference, where we train teachers, aides, and older students what was recorded there, and then have those people work directly with our young children, so they may experience the exchange of knowledge

first hand. No videotape can possibly replace the presence of an elder. Use elders if they are willing, but a younger person working with the teaching of an elder is going to be more effective in some ways than a videotape of an elder saying the same thing. This goes back to the concept of interactions between people. Those personal interactions have always been important to native people. Books and films put a distance between a child and what it is you are trying to teach a child. It is the book or film that is talking to the child, not the teacher, and the child is aware of this.

Your question determines the answer. I think it's funny that Hollywood has stereotyped us as always asking *How?* It is White people that ask *How?* It is a White way of education that has led us back to our old people, where armed with a microphone, we ask *How?* "How were canoes made?" "How did you catch the salmon in those days?" "How were names given?" "How do you say _____ in Indian?" *How?* is unimportant to the question *Why?* *Why?* will always give you *How?* somewhere down the line. When we mistake product for process we ask *How?* For children to see their own families go out to fish using an aluminum or fiberglass boat with an outboard motor, being taught *how* to build a canoe will have little meaning. It would have a lot more meaning if the class would actually go out the next day and build a canoe. However, it is relevant to ask, "Why did our people build a canoe the way they did?" There were spiritual relationships in choosing a tree, in gathering bark and wood. Not everyone was necessarily meant to be a canoe maker. The painted and carved symbols on the canoes of certain coastal Indians all had meaning. To teach a child the relationships between human and forest, carver and wood, human and water, human and fish, is what is important, and not testing a child on knowing what kind of wood was used or how long canoes were.

The process by which, in many tribes, a name is given to a child is a very important one, but it is still more important to have children understand *why* an Indian name is so precious than it is to have the child count the number of blankets given away at a naming. Giving away blankets is part of the *how* of it. The idea of covering, of surrounding you with love

and caring, the understanding that an Indian name is something a person wears, and must therefore always be kept clean, are part of the *why* of it. *Why?* will always give you *How?* *How?* will rarely give you *Why?*

I could go on and on (which is also part of being a prophet with a little *p*) but I want to end here, to have you turn your thoughts to what is around *you*. I have serious doubts as to whether or not we can teach people anything. I think all we can really do is provide people with an opportunity to learn. Do you understand the distinction? One is active, the other passive. A person can absorb facts, but until something happens inside him/her, which makes that set of facts part of the person, the facts won't stay. They'll have no foundation or roots and will be washed away.

At the Twelfth General Assembly of the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, an older man got up and explained that as a boy, when he was taught how to fish, his old people showed him that water was really four different colors. Part of knowing where to fish meant knowing these colors and the relations of fish to these colors. I think this is a wonderful image to use in understanding education as it should be for native people. The top level, or surface level, represents the programs we are establishing for our children, all the "things," the books, the school desks, the teacher, and the videotapes. But the color of that level only exists as a layering of deeper colors. Those other levels are not only the support for the upper level, but the upper levels could not possibly exist without the lower ones, just as you cannot have green except by combining blue and yellow. Whatever we do in education has to be in combination with what has gone before, those traditions, rituals, and learning processes that are all part of the answer when we ask *Why?*

Let me end with a non-Indian story, a Zen story. Long ago a wise man was always consulted by his community. His many students would watch him listen to the problem of the person, and then watch him go to his room where he would take out an enormous and beautiful book. He would consult this book for hours, and then return with the answer to the problem. Finally, the wise

man died, and his students ran to his room to look at the book. The only thing written in the book was this: Wisdom is knowing the difference between content and container.

In our work in native education, we have been distracted with an excess number of very beautiful containers. Let's go on with the business of working with content.

Terry Tafoya is of Taos, Warm Springs, and Skokomish heritage. Formerly the Area Director for Indian Headstart Programs on reservations in Alaska, Washington, Oregon, Nevada, and Utah, he worked for two years as the Alaskan Field Representative, providing training and technical assistance to native bilingual programs in Alaska, Washington, Oregon, and Idaho. A candidate for a PhD in Education Psychology at the University of Washington, he is also presently a free-lance consultant on native and bilingual education throughout western Canada and the United States. Mr. Tafoya is currently completing a book on the use of American Indian legends for classroom use, and serves on the adjunct faculty of the Seattle Pacific University. He is a founder and Executive Manager of the new Northwest Institute for Native Education, a center which provides training and technical assistance to native programs and for those working with native heritage in the classroom.



POETRY

Vanishing Point: Urban Indian

Wendy Rose

It is I in the cities, in the bars, in the
dustless reaches of cold eyes who
vanishes, who leans

underbalanced into nothing; it is I
without learning, I without song, who
dies & cries the death time, who

blows from place to place hanging onto
dandelion dust, dying over & over. It is I
who had to search & turn the stones,

half-dead crawl through the bones, let
tears dissolve the dry caves where
woman-ghosts roll piaki & insects move
to keep this world alive.

It is I who hold the generous bowl that
flows over with shell & stone,
that is buried in blood, that places its
shape within rock carvings.

It is I who die bearing cracked turquoise
& making noise
so as to protect your fragile immortality
O Medicine Ones.

Wendy Rose was born in Oakland, California. Her father is Hopi, her mother, Miwok from Bear Valley (Mariposa County). Ms. Rose earned an MA in Anthropology from the University of California, Berkeley and is working on a PhD. She teaches Native American Studies at the University of California, Berkeley and at Mills College in Oakland. She is also the Literature Editor of the American Indian Quarterly.

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Bridge Perspective

Irene Nakai
Tó'ahani

i must be like a bridge
for my people
i may connect time; yesterday
today and tomorrow—for may people
who are in transition, also.
i must be enough in tomorrow, to give warning—
if i should.
i must be enough in yesterday, to hold a cherished secret.
Does it seem like we are walking as one?

Sandpainting

Flagstaff, AZ 1976
Photographer: Kenji Kawano

Irene Nakai
Tó'ahani

Morning:

Let us go out into the desert, troubled friend, to
gather red sand, black earth, white sand, blue
clay.

Noon:

Let us climb a rippling sand dune,
everchanging in the celestial breezes,
grain
by
grain.

Seat ourselves in the twilight;
Paint your troubles in the sand.

Red sand, words of anger that cut.
Black earth, screaming demons, rumbling,
mumbling confusion.

White sand, blank walls, blank faces, titled thick
books with blank pages.

Blue clay, blue, sticky blue, bogging blues.

Night wind blows,

Above the wind, do you hear someone knocking?

"Open the door, it is the door of the Mountain."

Child, turn around, your painting has blown—away and
it is Dawn!

the track of the sun
across the sky
leaves its shining message
illuminating,
strengthening,
warming,
us who are here,
showing us we are not alone.
we are yet alive!
and this fire...
our fire...
shall not die.

Atoni (1971)

Curriculum Development for an American Indian Classroom

by Elaine Roanhorse Benally

Curriculum is "the formal and informal content and process by which learners gain knowledge and understanding, develop skills, and alter attitudes, appreciations, and values under the auspices of that school" (Doll, 1978).

How Do Teachers Begin to Develop a Curriculum for Their Classrooms?

Curriculum is the route by which students get from one place to another. It is a route for movement. The first task is to decide where the students are, the second, to determine the direction they should go. Decisions are based on the needs of students.

Curriculum should involve:

1. meeting the needs of students and communities,
2. establishing a learning plan based on these needs, and
3. selecting products and procedures that facilitate implementation of the plan.

Two important words in curriculum development are "scope" and "sequence."

How Do You Use Scope and Sequence in Curriculum Development?

If we continue to think of curriculum as a route, then "scope" describes the route's length. How far will students travel along the route? How much of the subject is to be mastered? What is the range of learning? Many schools determine the scope of "reading," for example, by setting criteria for comprehending the written English word and reading aloud.

This article appeared in *American Indian Education—Fact Sheet*, ERIC/Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools, New Mexico State University, New Mexico, 1980.

"Sequence" is the order of learning tasks along the route. Where do students begin? What prior knowledge is needed? What skill or mental processes are needed? What steps must be taken, and in which order, to reach the end? How do students proceed from one step to the next?

Example: In learning to read English, it is necessary for students to have a prior knowledge of listening and speaking. Sight words are identified, then sounds are identified with letters, next come vowels and consonants, then short vowels, etc.

Creating Your Own Classroom Curriculum Takes Time. Our School Receives Curriculum Material From Publishing Companies.

Publishing companies are capable of providing products as well as the entire curriculum plan for a broad subject area like language arts. This plan and the products that facilitate the plan are often called a "basal series," a series of basic books, tapes, or lesson plans taking students along the scope and sequence of certain subject areas.

These companies supply schools with curriculum products and provide the curriculum routes. Since they seek to reach the largest number of clients possible, the companies publish products that appeal to the cultural majority. Minorities are often left with little but token representation.

How Can Teachers Take Advantage of Both Commercially Published Curriculum Products and Create the Classroom's Curriculum?

Teachers are always looking for extra materials. For instance, some students are better readers and need more mate-

rial than others on a particular subject. Other students may be more visually oriented and would benefit from a film-strip on the same subject.

Example: When fourth graders are studying about the area they live in, books with maps describing the location of their tribe and explaining the distinct culture of their tribe would fit into the social studies curriculum. A slideshow about your reservation would fit into the basal social studies presentation.

How Can I Obtain More Information on Creating My Own Classroom Curriculum for American Indian Students?

The following centers and organizations specialize in American Indian oriented curriculum for American Indian students:

UNITED INDIANS OF ALL TRIBES FOUNDATION

DAYBREAK STAR INDIAN CULTURAL-EDUCATIONAL CENTER

Discovery Park, P.O. Box 99253
Seattle, WA 98199

PACIFIC NORTHWEST INDIAN PROGRAM

Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory
710 S. W. 2nd Avenue
Portland, OR 97204

INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

A Project of the Red School House
560 Van Buren Avenue
St. Paul, MN 55103

CURRICULUM ASSOCIATES

5715 - 58th N.E.
Seattle, WA 98105

DEVELOPMENTAL LANGUAGE PROGRAM

Western Regional Resource Center
P.O. Box 2300
Anchorage, AK 99510

NATIVE AMERICAN MATERIALS DEVELOPMENT CENTER

407 Rio Grande Blvd., N.W.
Albuquerque, NM 87103

INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS CENTER

Drawer E
Pine Hill, NM 87321

FOLLOW THROUGH PROJECT

Northern Cheyenne Tribe
Lame Deer, MT 59043

SHENANDOAH FILM PRODUCTIONS

538 G. Street
Arcata, CA 95521

AMERICAN INDIAN CURRICULA DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

U. T. E. T. C.
3315 S. Airport Road
Bismarck, ND 58501

BLACKFEET HERITAGE PROGRAM

Browning Public Schools
Browning, MT 59417

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT CENTER

ROUGH ROCK DEMONSTRATION SCHOOL
Rough Rock, AZ 85603

ANISHINABE READING MATERIALS

Indian Education Department
Central Administration Building
Lake Avenue and Second Street
Duluth, MN 55802

MONTANA COUNCIL FOR INDIAN EDUCATION

3311-1/2 4th Avenue North
Billings, MT 59101

References

Doll, Ronald C. *Curriculum Improvement: Decision Making and Process*. 4th ed. Boston, Massachusetts: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1978.

Elaine Roanhorse Benally, a member of the Navajo Tribe, is currently the Information Specialist for American Indian Education at the ERIC Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools (CRESS).

ERIC/CRESS is responsible for acquiring, abstracting, indexing, and disseminating documents related to all aspects of American Indian Education, Mexican American Education, Migrant Education, Outdoor Education, Rural Education, and Small Schools. Documents submitted to CRESS include research reports, newsletters, conference papers, bibliographies, curriculum guides, speeches, journal articles, and books. ERIC invites authors of pertinent material to submit them for possible inclusion in the ERIC data base. ERIC/CRESS, Box 3AP, New Mexico State University, Las Cruces, NM 88003.

American Indian Education Legislation

by Aileen Kelly Alexander

The history of legislative funding for Indian education is reflected in a changing attitude of the United States government toward Native Americans. During President Washington's tenure, the government took on the responsibility for educating Indians, but only in exchange for large portions of land. It was felt that Indians must eventually be absorbed into White civilization, and the government took on the task of educating Indians with minimum standards and little regard for their own way of life. This lack of concern for Indian ways was expressed in a government study made in 1928 (Stefon, 1975). In 1887, *The General Allotment Act* created further problems by breaking up tribes and reservations and Indians were forced to relinquish more of their identities to receive an education. This policy and philosophy of educating Indians outside their environment continued into the "Collier Era," when, in 1933, John Collier initiated the "New Deal for the Indian Spirit." The new Indian Commissioner proposed that Indians should retain their own identities while being educated. From then until now, the government has moved toward further development of Indian education without removing the Indians from their culture.

It must be noted that the progress of Indian education has been slow and painful. Despite federal laws and pro-

grams designed to benefit Indians, serious problems exist. The legislation has often been enacted haphazardly, leaving Indian students characterized frequently by lack of motivation, deficient early education, adverse home environment, negative peer group influence, ethnic discrimination, and health and nutritional problems (*Indian Basic Education Act*, Hearings Before the Subcommittee of Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education, 1978).

A Brief History of American Indian Legislative Funding:

- 1789 President Washington and the Senate promised education to American Indians in exchange for one billion acres of land.
- 1802 Act passed giving \$15,000 a year to promote civilization among Aborigines.
- 1819 Act passed giving \$19,000 to prevent the decline of Indian civilization.
- 1870 Act giving \$1,000,000 for education of Indians.
- 1882 Act whereby abandoned military posts could be used as Indian schools.
- 1897 Appropriation for education of Indians in sectarian schools.
- 1921 (*Snyder Act*) Authorization of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to direct, supervise, and expand funds appropriated by Congress for land management, welfare, and education of Indians.
- 1924 (*Indian Citizenship Act*) Act entitling Indians to the same rights as

non-Indians, including state education.

- 1934 (*Wheeler-Howard Act*) Indian Reorganization Act. Ended allotment period, support for Indian vocational programs and higher education, and promised tribal self-government.
- (*Johnson-O'Malley Act*) Federal assistance to states to support Indian activities related to health, education, and welfare.
- 1936 (*Amendment to Johnson-O'Malley Act*) Permission for contracting to states for fulfillment of *Johnson-O'Malley Act*.
- 1950 (*Navajo-Hopi Rehabilitation Act*) Funding for construction of schools and "bordertown" dormitories for the Navajo and Hopi to attend public schools.
- 1953 Amendment to P.L. (Public Law) 815,874. Authorized aid to schools with high percentage of non-taxable Indian population.
- (*Transfer of Federal Property Act*) Authorization for the Secretary of the Interior to transfer property to state or local agencies.
- 1971 (*Bilingual Education Act*) Grants for bilingual education.
- 1972 (*Indian Education Act*) Funding for schools to meet special educational needs of Indian children.
- 1974 (*Educational Amendments Act*) Amends P. L. 879, 815 and *Elementary and Secondary Education Act*.

This article appeared in *American Indian Education—Fact Sheet*, ERIC/Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools, New Mexico State University, New Mexico, 1980.

1975 (*Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act*) Participation of Indians in administration and implementation of programs.

(*So That All Indian Children Will Have Equal Educational Opportunity*, 1974)

It is pertinent to look with more scrutiny at the particular pieces of legislation that are actually used to fund Native American students today.

The *Johnson-O'Malley Act*. This act initially paid basic support to Indian students who were educated in mission schools, federal schools (BIA), and community-controlled schools. The provisions of the original *Johnson-O'Malley Act* are as follows:

1. The Secretary of State may contract with states for services provided for Indians.
2. The Secretary of the Interior may allow use of Federal properties for Indians schools.
3. The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to create rules and regulations to carry out provisions of the Act and set standards.
4. The Secretary of the Interior must report annually to Congress concerning such subjects.
5. Oklahoma is excluded from the above provisions.

In 1936, the *Johnson-O'Malley Act* was amended in order to give the Secretary of the Interior power to contract with the states. The clause excluding Oklahoma was deleted.

In 1960, an additional amendment to this act voided the necessity for the Secretary of the Interior to make an annual report to Congress.

The *Johnson-O'Malley Act* is administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, through the submission of state plans.

Impact Aid (P.L. 874, 815). Public Law 874 provides federal aid to school districts having hardships in raising school budgets because of federal lands or installations that decrease the property tax base. Public Law 815 provided funding specifically for construction costs of educational facilities. Funding is administered through the Education Department.

Elementary and Secondary Education Act. In 1965, this Act gave aid to low income families, which affected many Indian children.

Indian Education Act (known as Title IV, P.L. 92-319). This Act is notable for including all Indians in funding for problems concerning the public school education of Native Americans at both elementary and secondary levels. Some post-secondary and adult education benefits also come under this legislation. Under Part A of this Act, funding is issued only through LEAs (Local Education Agencies). This was a major breakthrough for Indians who could then receive a stronger voice in dealing with their own problems. This Act is an amendment to P.L. 874 and funding is provided through the Education Department.

Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975 (P.L. 93-638).

This Act provides full participation of Indians in programs that assist them. Indian parents, teachers, and administrators serve to guide the programs. Programs are implemented to meet special emotional and academic needs, but this funding may also be used for the establishment and maintenance of classrooms. Most of this legislation is of benefit to elementary and secondary Indian students. Indian students who wish to continue their educations into college would be advised to investigate funding and aid through: The *Indian Education Act*-Title IV, The Indian College Bill, and a federal program, PRIME (Planning Resources in Minority Education).

As a territory and later as a state, Alaska, with its heavy Native American population, exemplifies the lengthy and difficult path of Indian education. In the nineteenth century, some Indians were educated in mission schools, where such schools were available. The *Nelson Act of 1900* permitted the federal government to establish Indian schools.

In 1917, the territorial legislatures were empowered to establish Indian schools. By not allowing "mixed blood" in Indian schools, and considering the great area Alaska encompasses, education became haphazard and complicated as well as insufficient. The federal, state, and local governments were delivering educational services. Generally mismanaged and inadequate, Indian funds have never seemed to be used for the successful education of Indians (Getches, 1977). Through the *Johnson-O'Malley* legislation, there was more of a shift in responsibility to the state government; and, as Alaska attained statehood in

1959, the state was committed to educating its children, Indians included. In recent years, there has been a statewide movement to decentralize control of Indian education in accordance with federal legislation. An especially significant piece of state legislation is a new law, SB 35, which commands decision-making policy from a centrally based state agency to regional boards. In essence, the idea is for Indians to have some control over Indian education.

The problems and complexities of Indian education continue to haunt the United States. By researching some of the available funding, by using the funding to good advantage, and by striving to continue in the pursuit of quality education, Indians have hope for better education in the future.

References

- Getches, David H. *Law and Alaska Native Education: The Influence of Federal and State Legislation Upon Education of Rural Alaska Natives*. Fairbanks, Alaska: Center for Northern Educational Research, University of Alaska, 1977. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 148 544)
- Indian Basic Education Act*. Hearings Before the Subcommittee of Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education, 1978. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 165 925)
- So That All Indian Children Will Have Equal Educational Opportunity*. Vol. III. United States Office of Education/Bureau of Indian Affairs. Study of the Impact of Federal Funds on Local Education Agencies Enrolling Indian Children. ACKCO, Inc., American Indian Professional Services, 1974. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 107 400)
- Stefon, Frederick J. "Significance of the Meriam Report of 1928," *Indian Historian*, VIII, No. 3 (Summer, 1975), 2-7.

Aileen Kelly Alexander was a member of a technical writing class at New Mexico State University. This article was printed as a user service product and disseminated to interested ERIC users.

ANNOTATIONS





Voices from Wounded Knee—the People are Standing Up

We have been "taught" certain facts about Indians: How they were finally subdued in the late 1800's, how happy they are on the reservations, how they are successfully becoming a part of American life. On one hand we have "concepts of how democracy was brought to this land under the Bill of Rights, how people obtain perfect justice in the courts, how benevolent government agencies are to Indians." On the other hand is Wounded Knee.

Readers of this book will know more about Wounded Knee than 99 percent of the United States population. The Wounded Knee episode, a challenge to the United States government's jurisdiction over the Indian people, was a response to U.S. violation of Sioux treaties, and was exacerbated by illegal actions on the part of U.S. officials. Many of the cases stemming from the demonstration are still in litigation.

Interviews, poems, photographs, maps, and a chronology of the demonstration come together with the background of events to form political history at its best and most controversial. This book has many voices.

From one:

Our people believe in the paths of life. We talk about the path of peace—and how sometimes you have to go the path of war because there's nowhere else to go and still remain as an Indian.

Those were "fighting words." Perhaps no one knew at the beginning how courageous this desperate band of people would have to be, least of all themselves. But something profound occurred at Wounded Knee in spite of hunger, futility, and death:

Now that the native people have found something they believe in so strongly, they are willing to commit their lives to bringing it about, they ask the question of other residents on this Mother Earth who are concerned about future generations of children. What do you believe in so strongly that you are willing to commit your life to bringing it about?

Published by:
Akwesane Notes
Mohawk Nation
Via Roosevelttown
New York, NY 13683
© 1974

Language: English
Type of book and length:
Paperback—263 pages
Intended level: Upper Secondary—Adult
Cost: \$6.95



The Way to Rainy Mountain

By N. Scott Momaday;
Illustrated by Al Momaday

Infrequently, a person of great spiritual generosity will open a door into a hitherto secret place and allow entrance. Those who read this book will enjoy this rare privilege, a journey into the timeless world of a person's Kiowa past.

Myth and memory mingle in a rich, magical message almost too beautiful to describe:

I have walked in a mountain meadow bright with Indian paintbrush, lupine, and wild buckwheat, and I have seen high in the branches of a lodgepole pine the male pine grosbeak, round and rose-colored, its dark, striped wings nearly invisible in the soft, mottled light. And the uppermost branches of the tree seemed very slowly to ride across the blue sky.

Written with dignity and restraint, this very personal message is movingly universal.

Published by:
University of New Mexico Press
Albuquerque, NM 87131
© 1979

Language: English
Type of book and length: Paperback—89 pages
Intended level: Secondary—Adult
Cost: \$3.95

BOOKS



Fig Tree John—An Indian in Fact and Fiction

By Peter G. Beidler

An interesting and scholarly comparison of two Fig Tree Johns, the Cahuilla Indian, Juanito Razon, and the fictional character of Edwin Corle's novel, based on Juanito Razon. The book is divided into two parts, Part One, the facts of Fig Tree John's life, Part Two, Fig Tree John in fiction. The result is a composite of anthropology and literary criticism which yields a fair amount of insight into what it is to be an Indian. Extensive notes and a bibliography complete this interesting study.

Published by:
The University of Arizona Press
Tucson, AZ 85721
© 1977

Language: English
Type of book and length: Paperback—152 pages
Intended level: Adult
Cost: \$4.95, hardbound—\$10.50



The Girl Who Married a Ghost and Other Tales from the North American Indian

Collected and with photographs by Edward S. Curtis; Edited by John Bierhorst

These quietly mysterious tales were gathered during the early 1900s by photographer-writer-explorer, Edward S. Curtis, who took the accompanying mythic photographs of spirit people, heroes, maidens, and other creatures.

The book is worth acquiring for the photographs alone, which have a haunting quality akin to dreams; but the stories, which include, among others, a ghost story from the Northwest Coast, a trickster tale from the Plains, and a sacred origin-myth from the Southwest, are intrinsically fascinating and beautifully written.

Published by:
Four Winds Press
50 W. 44th Street
New York, NY 10036
© 1978

Language: English
Type of book and length: Hardcover—115 pages
Intended level: Upper Elementary-Adult
Cost: \$9.95



I Am Eskimo—Aknik My Name

By Paul Green, aided by Abbe Abbott; Illustrated by George Ahgupuk

The value of the social studies content of this book is enormous. Eskimo life, past and present, is related by an Eskimo—Aknik (Paul Green)—and in his own words. Myths, dances, music, adventures, and details of daily life in the Far North fill the book, which is copiously illustrated with informative line drawings portraying these details.

The reader may initially be surprised by the language, which comes unedited from the pen of Aknik. The writing is "just the way he talks" and the way many village Eskimos still speak. This allows the book to take on a rhythm and validity all its own and provide, in addition to a documentary of Eskimo life, an insight into the character of the Eskimo.

Published by:
Alaska Northwest Publishing Company
Box 4-EEE
Anchorage, AK 99509
1977

Language: English
Type of book and length: Paperback—86 pages
Intended level: Age 10-Adult
Cost: \$3.95



Kahtahah

By Frances Lackey Paul; Illustrated by Rie Muñoz

This book is special. The Indian girl, Kahtahah, really lived and her society and customs are part of the history of our country. The information on which the book is based was derived by painstaking research by the author who created the book for her Indian students who wanted to have stories about their own tribe—the Tlingits. The material, which includes details of tribal culture, lore, and law as well as the daily trials and satisfactions of life in the Alaskan wilderness at the turn of the century, is presented in story form around the life of this Tlingit child.

Fascinating enough to hold the interest of both child and adult, the book is a rich resource of social studies materials, combining historical and anthropological information with a compelling story. The beautiful line drawings that illustrate the story are an added gift to this already rich presentation.

Published by:
Alaska Northwest Publishing
Company
Box 4-EEE
Anchorage, AK 99509

© 1976

Language: English

Type of book and length: Paperback—109 pages

Intended level: Primary; Secondary

Cost: \$5.95



Sivuqam Unigpaghaatangi II/St. Lawrence Island Legends II

By Grace Siwooko; Illustrated by J. Leslie Boffa

Folk literature handed down orally generation to generation is pristinely captured in this book of Eskimo tales from Siberia.

These traditional stories memorialize many of the ancient ways, customs, and survival techniques of the Eskimos. Cultural insight and a glimpse of a people's ability to live in harmony with a stern and demanding environment are offered in the tales.

The stories appear in the Yup'ik dialect and English, although they are more transliterations than translations. Full of monsters, magic, giants, demons, and talking animals, they are sure to capture the interest of young readers.

Published by:
National Bilingual Materials
Development Center
University of Alaska
2223 Spenard Road
Anchorage, AK 99503
1979

Languages: Yup'ik Eskimo
Dialect/English

Type of book and length: Hardcover—116 pages

Intended level: Secondary

Cost: \$6.00



Stories from the Old Ones

As told to Walter A. Denny; Edited by Harold E. Gray and Patricia Scott; Illustrated by William Daychild

Stories with the flavor and feel of oral history—that were, in fact, passed down to Walter Denny when he was a child—and authentic black and white drawings of Chippewa-Cree life take the reader into a special world where Spirit People, animals, nature, and an unnamed enemy interact with the characters. The stories are part of a living tradition of the Chippewa-Cree people of Montana. They are shorter and often less detailed than their original counterparts, but the editors have tried to remain true to the oral traditional style of the originals.

Teaching stories, usually with a moral; fascinating products of long winter nights; a glossary; and the Cree alphabet are presented in this fine text.

Published by:
Rising Wolf Incorporated
240 N. Higgins Avenue #4
Missoula, MT 59801
(406) 721-4494
© 1979

Language: English

Type of book and length: Paperback—79 pages

Intended level: Upper Elementary; Secondary

Cost: \$4.95

BOOKS



American Indian Fiction

By Charles R. Larson

This text is the first critical and historical account of American Indian novels and should prove valuable to those interested in Native American culture and history.

American Indian fiction, from its emergence an expression of the double bind of marginality, is followed from assimilation through rejection and rebellion in this absorbing study. N. Scott Momaday, D'Arcy McNickle, Dallas Chief Eagle, and Denton R. Bradford are some of the authors represented.

Extensive notes and a bibliography complete this critical look at a "vigorous, young literature . . . years ahead of the culture that has tried to subdue it."

Published by:
University of New Mexico Press
Albuquerque, NM 87131
© 1978
Language: English
Type of book and length:
Hardcover—208 pages
Intended level: Adult
Cost: \$12.95



American Indian Food and Lore —150 Authentic Recipes

By Carolyn Niethammer

To properly comprehend the significance of this book, it is necessary to go to the desert without provisions, look about the seemingly bare expanse or at the exotic, apparently inedible plants. How would you survive?

The recipes and lore presented in this book are the answers to the question of survival arrived at by the Native Americans who populated the often harsh environment of the Southwest. Often survival entailed arduous, time-consuming effort by these early inhabitants. Trying some of them will give you a taste of history and a genuine admiration for "those ancient Indian women who searched the arid lands for food and labored over its preparation."

Published by:
Collier Books
A Division of
Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc.
866 Third Avenue
New York, NY 10022
© 1974
Language: English
Type of book and length: Paperback
—191 pages
Intended level: Secondary-Adult
Cost: \$5.95



American Indian Literature— An Anthology

Edited by Alan R. Velie;
Illustrated by Danny Timmons

A rich selection of Native American literature, this anthology covers traditional, transitional, and modern work; including fireside tales, a trickster cycle, songs, music, speeches, poetry, and fiction.

Particularly notable are selections from N. Scott Momaday and James Welch. Eleven black and white drawings by Danny Timmons, a Cherokee artist, add to the attractiveness of this fine volume and the editor's commentaries on the selections are informative and insightful.

Published by:
University of Oklahoma Press
1005 Asp Avenue
Norman, OK 73019
© 1979
Language: English
Type of book and length:
Paperback—356 pages
Intended level: High School—Adult
Cost: \$6.95



Cry of the Thunderbird—The American Indian's Own Story

**Edited by Charles Hamilton;
Paintings by George Catlin;
Sketches by American Indian Artists**

This book offers readers the rare opportunity to hear about aspects of Native American life, from courtship to the warpath, from the Great Spirit to the white man's foibles in the words of American Indians themselves.

Vignettes from more than 50 authors are represented in this collection, along with representative sketches and beautiful paintings of Indian life.

Published by:
University of Oklahoma Press
Norman, OK 73019

© 1977

Language: English

Type of book and length: Paperback—283 pages; also available in cloth

Intended level: Adult

Cost: \$6.95



Daughters of the Earth—The Lives and Legends of American Indian Women

By Carolyn Niethammer

Victory Song (Papago)

Here I stand, singing for my prisoner
Come and see, oh, women!
I dreamed that I saw light
At the tips of the warriors' feathers.

This poem is found in the chapter on women and war. Other subjects in this absorbing book include childbirth in Native America, taboos, marriage, the economic role of Native American women, women of power, and sexuality; complemented by an annotated bibliography and magnificent photographs of Native American women.

In this comprehensive and perhaps surprising profile of the first and least-known American women, we see women as guardians of the hearth, but also as rulers and warriors; adorned at times in necklaces, at others in war paint. If we have had a stereotypical view of Indians, our view of Indian women has been even more rigidly defined. This book will certainly offer us an opportunity to stand corrected.

Published by:
Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc.
866 Third Avenue
New York, NY 10022

© 1977

Language: English

Type of book and length:

Paperback—281 pages

Intended level: Adult

Cost: \$7.95



Education and the American Indian—The Road to Self-Determination Since 1928

By Margaret Connell Szasz

This well-researched text objectively and yet sympathetically traces the changeable attitudes and policies that formed the educational environment of American Indians from 1928 through 1976.

From the Meriam Report, which pinpointed glaring weaknesses and shortcomings within the Bureau of Indian Affairs, to the present new directions in Indian Education, and all the years in between, this book offers a comprehensive view of Indian Education at its best and worst. Extensive references, a bibliography, maps, and photographs from the period are additional features of this fine publication.

Published by:
University of New Mexico Press
Albuquerque, NM 87131

© 1979

Language: English

Type of book and length:

Paperback—252 pages

Intended level: Adult

Cost: \$5.95

BOOKS



Summer Song

By Ernesto Franco R.; Illustrated by Patricia Durán

When Keats wrote, "A thing of beauty is a joy forever," he could have been thinking of this booklet, and especially the subdued water-color illustrations of this bicultural gem.

The story, told by a young girl of the Navajo tribe, relates how rain is induced to fall on their all-important corn crop by the magic of the artist's skill: The elders of the village gather in a hogan. On the floor they carefully and thoughtfully make a large, beautiful sand painting requiring a whole day to produce. Then they erase their exquisite creation. When they have done this for nine days, get set for rainfall, our young narrator advises.

This supplementary reader ends with review (recall) questions.

Published by:
Voluntad Publishers
Exchange Park, Suite 220-S
7800 Shoal Creek Boulevard
Austin, TX 78757
(800) 531-5211

© 1979

Languages: English or Spanish
Type of book and length: Paperback—16 pages
Intended level: Elementary
Cost: \$1.38



The Tale of Brave Yatto and His Sister Teune

By Janna Vitenzon; Illustrated by L. Aristov

Mutual aid against the almost overpowering elements is the only means of survival in the Far North, where this fairy tale is set. This is the place where the sun crosses the sky in a chariot drawn by a golden-antlered deer and where the night is menaced by evil Blizzard, the witch of the night. This story, based on the folk tales of the Nentsy of the Russian Federation, depicts the struggle of a brave boy and girl, Yatto and Teune, who overcome the evil forces of nature to save their mother.

With the help of the sun and other forces of light and warmth, the children rescue their mother from the clutches of Blizzard who has swept her away to a lair in the ice mountains. Teune sacrifices her long plaits to make a rope to cross into the mountains, and Yatto shoots the witch with a magical arrow made from the sun.

The beautiful watercolor illustrations are another touch of magic to this inspiring tale.

Distributed by:
Imported Publications, Inc.
320 West Ohio Street
Chicago, IL 60610
(312) 787-9017

© 1975

Language: English
Type of book and length: Paperback—20 pages
Intended level: Elementary
Cost: \$.75



Tepee Tales of the American Indian—Retold for Our Times

By Dee Brown; Illustrated by Louis Mofsie

These tales, told and retold for generations, are presented in the form they would take if related by a modern story teller. They retain, however, their original power with a quality that makes a story—whether old, new, oral, or written—grab on and carry the reader along. Indeed, to have survived so long without being written down, these stories must be good.

The best of this oral tradition, taken from over 24 American Indian tribes, is included in the collection, which contains animal stories, legends, myths, stories about early contact with Europeans, stories of ghosts and magic, and much more.

Students will enjoy these funny, often frightening and suspenseful tales, while benefiting from their rich fund of historical and cultural potential.

The author has written several books on the Native American experience including the best sellers, *Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee* and *Creek Mary's Blood*.

Published by:
Holt, Rinehart and Winston
383 Madison Avenue
New York, NY 10017
© 1979

Language: English
Type of book and length: Hardcover—174 pages
Intended level: Upper Elementary; Secondary
Cost: \$7.95

CHARTS/PRINTS



American Dream Activity Cards—My Ancestors are Called American Indians

**By Josette Bishop and Nikki Shreiner;
Illustrated by Susan Hickson**

Containing more than 400 cards with over 1,000 activities in art, music, reading, math, language arts, science, and physical education, each kit (of which this set is a part) covers material from a number of cultures. *My Ancestors are Called American Indians* is one of the sets in Kit I, which includes *My Ancestors are from*: United States; Mexico; Japan; Africa; Polynesia; and England, Ireland, and Scotland. Materials include studies of prominent Native Americans, philosophy, legends, crafts, even recipes for authentic Native American dishes.

The aim of the series is to build self-esteem and appreciation for all cultures. Excellent for motivating activity, they can serve as a strong foundation in building an understanding of the heritage of Native Americans.

Published by:
Touch & See
P. O. Box 794
Palos Verdes Estates, CA 90274
© 1974

Language: English
Type of material and length: 60 5½" x 8½" cards
Intended level: Upper Elementary; Secondary
Cost: \$7.95



A Portfolio of Outstanding Contemporary American Indians

Research and Text by Theodore E. B. Wood; Art by Robert M. Blanchard

Twenty-four outstanding Native American men and women are presented in these large, interesting study prints. Each print has a picture of the person along with a page of biography, including the person's aims for the future. The selection for inclusion is with respect to their achievements and their commitment to the welfare of their fellow Native Americans.

Activists, artists, legislators, authors, educators, a track star, and a chief are represented. Reading skills, social studies, and inspiration, all in one package! Many of the biographies suggest topics worthy of future reading and research for interested students.

Others in the series include *A Portfolio of Outstanding Americans of Mexican Descent and Chicanos y Chicanas Prominentes*.

Published by:
Heinle & Heinle Enterprises
29 Lexington Road
Concord, MA 01742
© 1974

Language: English
Type of material and length: 24 study prints—11" x 14"
Intended level: Elementary; Secondary
Cost: \$15.75



Historical American Indian Biographies; Contemporary American Indian Biographies

By Marion E. Gridley

Sixty-four large pictures and short biographies constitute these two packets of 12½" x 16" study prints of outstanding and inspiring Native Americans, one packet historical, one contemporary.

The individuals selected come from a wide variety of tribes, outlooks, interests, and ways of life, stressing the richness and diversity of Native American culture. Though many of the individuals achieved prominence in the "Whites" world, most advocate preserving Indian cultural standards and moral values.

Each study print features a photo or drawing with a few lines listing the individual's outstanding accomplishments. Each of the two packets has its Teacher's Guide that gives a one-page biography of each person and suggests follow-up activities to encourage students' further investigation of Native American culture and life styles in several curriculum areas.

Published by:
Instructor Curriculum Materials
Instructor Park
Dansville, NY 14437
(716) 335-2221
© 1972

Language: English
Type of material and length: 32 prints—12½" x 16" per packet;
Teacher's Guide: Paperback—48 pages
Intended level: Elementary; Secondary
Cost: \$4.95 each packet

PERIODICALS



The Sun Child

American Indian culture and history are featured in this Native American-owned newspaper. Distributed world-wide, it can be used at home or in school, for English language classes, social studies, reading, or adult education.

The paper presents material on American Indian nations, customs, leaders, culture, history, current activities, stories and legends, sign language, wild plants for medicine, food and clothing, and contributions to agriculture, ecology, arts, sciences, government, and medicine.

A Teacher's Guide is available, an entertaining activity page tests reader understanding, and a weekly bibliography provides for more study and research.

Published by:
Rising Wolf, Inc.
240 N. Higgins Avenue, #4
Missoula, MT 59801
(406) 721-4494

© 1980

Language: English

Type of material and length: Newspaper—4 pages

Intended level: Secondary; Adult

Cost: \$6.00 yearly; 30 issues per year



The South Corner of Time—Hopi Navajo Papago Yaqui Tribal Literature

Edited by Larry Evers with Anya Dozier, Danny Lopez, Felipe Molina, Ellavina Tsosie Perkins, Emory Sekaquaptewa, and Ofelia Zepeda

"Excellence" is an overused word but, in this case, there can be no other word to describe this labor of love from Indian students and faculty at the University of Arizona. Volume 6 of *Sun Tracks* has as its purpose to help all people recognize and appreciate this country's native literary heritage and to promote literary expression and appreciation among all Indian people. This it does and, like its namesake, it leaves a "shining message illuminating, strengthening, warming, us who are here, showing us we are not alone."

Tribal literature from four peoples: Hopi, Navajo, Papago, and Yaqui are represented in English and the respective native languages, along with maps and alphabets for each. Interspersed with poetry, songs, narrative, history, and stories of wrenching beauty are photographs and drawings that capture the dignity, bravery, and

grandeur of four peoples. There is reverence, renewal, and hope:

Every day as I go outside and give thanks,
I look at white rain clouds, the mountain
ranges, the trees and cactii, as I breathe
the sacred air that gives me life, as I
stand on the earth that I respect, as I
see the little children playing, I know it
is all worth it. Every breath is all worth
it.

There are also landscapes:

where broken wine bottles trickle
down sun-baked face of earth
where barb-wire-type scar crawls
over a navaho swollen nose
trickling tears down swollen lips

If we can point to one message from
this varied collection, it is that "We are
alive. Our fire shall not die." So be it.

Published by:
University of Arizona Press
Box 3398

Tucson, AZ 85722

© 1980

Languages: English, Hopi, Navajo,
Papago, and Yaqui

Type of material and length: Annual
periodical, paperback 8½" x
11"—240 pages

Intended level: Secondary; Adult
Cost: \$14.95; hardcover—\$35.00 (2nd
edition)

PERIODICALS



Tsa' Aszi'

Traditional native food is cornucopiously covered in this periodical's special issue, "Traditional Navajo Foods and Cooking."

Tacos, tamales, yucca bananas, barbecued prairie dogs, squash blossoms, and jerky with chokecherries are some of the exotic fare offered.

A chapter on "Edible Wild Plants," suggestions for preparation, and dozens of recipes are served up in this special double issue (Vol. III, No. 4; Vol. IV, No. 1).

Published by:

Tsa' Aszi' Graphics Center
C.P.O. Box 12
Pine Hill, NM 87321

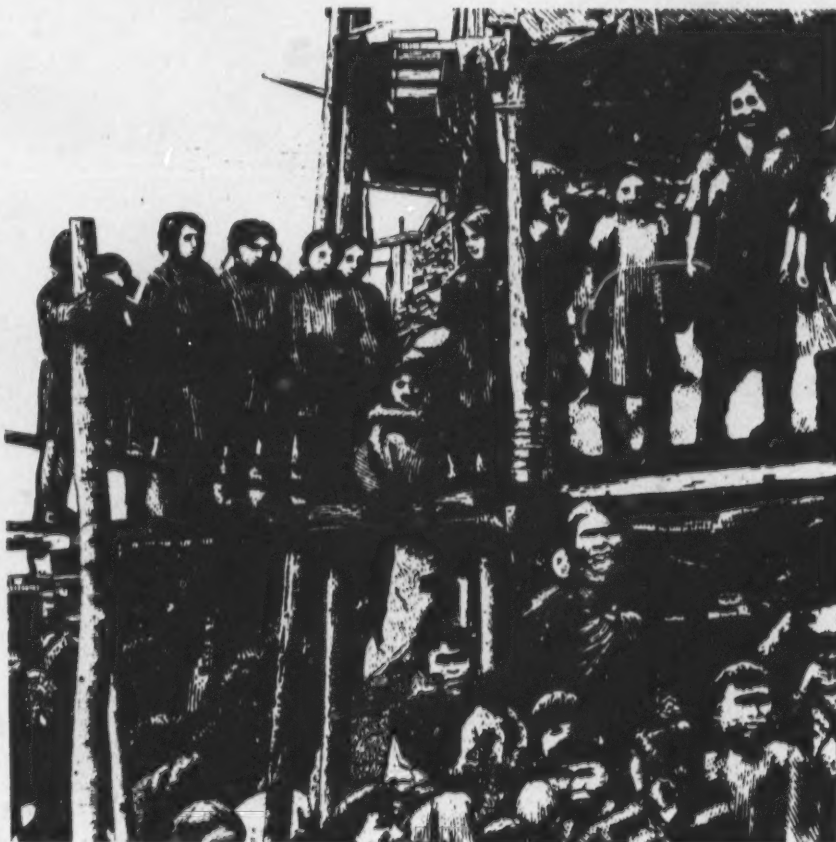
© 1979

Language: English

Type of book and length: Magazine format—132 pages

Intended level: Secondary; Adult

Cost: One year subscription (four issues)—\$7.00



Alaska Geographic: Alaska's Native People

This impressive issue (Vol. 6 No. 3) of the quarterly series prepared for members of The Alaska Geographic Society is now available to the general public. Containing 350 gorgeous color photographs, and representing three years of travel and research by the editor, the quarterly is a masterpiece of information in an exciting format.

The issue covers the history and culture of various Native Alaskan groups, including Inupiat, Yup'ik, Aleut, Koniag, Athabascan, Tlingit, and others, with a section on change and the impact of the modern world on the ancient cultures. A wall map is

included. The beauty of the volume is exceeded only by its educational value.

This series also includes Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta, focusing on the Yup'ik way of life.

Published by:

Alaska Northwest Publishing Company
130 Second Avenue South
Edmonds, WA 98020
(206) 774-4111

© 1979

Language: English

Type of material and length: Paperback periodical—302 pages

Intended level: High School; Adult

Cost: \$19.95

AUDIOVISUALS



Healing Songs of the American Indians

Recorded by Frances Densmore

Music was and is an important element in the healing ceremonies practiced by Native American doctors or medicine men. The songs used in the treatment of the sick are said to come from supernatural sources through dreams or visions, along with directions for ministrations and a knowledge of the herbs to be used.

This album contains 19 songs with descriptive notes, text, and translations of songs from seven tribes recorded on location by Dr. Densmore for the Bureau of American Ethnology, the Smithsonian Institution.

Songs from the Chippewa, Sioux, Yuman, Northern Ute, Papago, Makah, and Menominee peoples are represented.

Distributed by:

Folkways Records and Service Corp.
43 West 61st Street
New York, NY 10023

© 1965

Languages: Chippewa, Sioux, Yuman, Northern Ute, Papago, Makah, and Menominee

Type of material and length: 12" LP record, 7 page pamphlet.

Intended level: Elementary-Secondary
Cost: \$9.98



American Indian Music for the Classroom

By Louis W. Ballard

Music, dance, cultural and musical notes, a map showing the location of Native American reservations, beautiful study prints, presentation suggestions, and generous resources make this set an extremely enjoyable classroom tool.

The record set has songs by Louis Ballard and friends—first straight through, and then with pauses so that children have time to learn them. A perfect introduction into the harmonies and lyrics of Indian music, the set includes, among others, a Paiute legend song, Seminole Duck Dance Song, Apache Girl's Song, and an Osage War Mother's Song.

Published and Produced by:

Canyon Records
4143 North Sixteenth Street
Phoenix, AZ 85016

© 1973

Languages: Various American Indian dialects and languages, including those of Paiute, Eskimo, Seminole, Choctaw, Tewa, Dakota, Navajo, Apache, Osage, Taos, Ute, Pima, Arikara, Tsimshian, Klallam, Iroquois, Mohave, Kiowa, Ponca, and Tlingit peoples.

Type of material and length: 4 33 1/3 RPM records, an 18 page bibliography, a map of Indian lands, 20 9" x 12" photographs, 24 ditto masters for songs, and a Teacher's Guide—88 pages.

Intended level: Elementary
Cost: \$59.50



Music of the Sioux and the Navajo

Recorded by Willard Rhodes

This collection of songs from two tribes represents an ongoing and vital musical tradition. Throughout the Southwest, Indian ceremonial music is actively used by most tribes, and in the Plains area modern secular music has arisen. New songs are being created and spread by native troubadours.

Thus, listeners are not only reliving history through this music, they are also touching the present. Songs in this collection include a Rabbit Dance, Peyote Cult Song, a Song of Happiness, and a Spinning Song.

Distributed by:

Folkways Records and Service Corp.
43 W. 61st St.
New York, NY 10023

© 1966

Languages: Sioux, Navajo

Type of material and length: 12" LP record, 7 page pamphlet of notes.

Intended level: Elementary-Secondary
Cost: \$9.98



Owen Seumtewa is Director of the Department of Education of the Hopi Tribe in Oraibi, Arizona and was previously coordinator of Hopi Programs at Northland Pioneer College in Oraibi.

Mr. Seumtewa sees his photographs as an expression of his people and his culture, achieved by relating incidents, scenes, or faces. His photographs have appeared in Suntracks.



Tony Celentano was born, raised, and is currently residing in Tucson, Arizona. Presently, he is a college student majoring in art with emphasis in photography and ceramics. Mr. Celentano's most recent published work was a portfolio on Papago Indians in the literary magazine, Suntracks, published by the University of Arizona Press, 1980. While working in the varied aspects of art photography, the idea of "the Portrait" is still an ongoing concern.



Originally from Japan, Kenji Kawano came to the United States in 1973 in order to find an environment which would provide fresh ideas for his photography. In 1974 he visited the Navajo reservation, where he met his wife. This marked the beginning of his documentation of the Navajos and other native people. His photographs have appeared in Suntracks.

